The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1902.

The Week.

It is something of a coincidence that Congress met on the very day that the International Shipping Trust went into operation. Senator Frye sees in this conjunction one argument more for passing the Ship Subsidy Bill. Here is this vast combine, willing to spend $50,000,000 on new steamers if Congress will only furnish half the money. The Maine Senator is no doubt in earnest, but if he makes such a proposal on the floor of Congress it will be received with shouts of laughter. A bill to pension Crœsus would have as good a chance of passing. Ship subsidies are dead, nor does it require a post-mortem to determine what killed them. Mr. Morgan did it with his little syndicate.

The Comptroller of the Currency, in his annual report, recommends that national banks be allowed to issue notes over and above the amount of their security bonds, beginning with 20 per cent. of their capital, and increasing gradually to 50 per cent. "A graduated tax on the amount issued," he says, "joined with ample provisions for their redemption and return to the issuing bank, would result in the necessary contraction when the circulation became redundant and the notes were not needed in business." This is very true, but it is also true that ample provisions for their redemption would produce this result without the graduated tax or any tax different from that which the law now imposes. Since the public pay for the use of all the notes they take out and keep out, they can be depended on to return all that they do not really need. All that they do really need they ought to have, and the Government need concern itself only with their goodness. The Comptroller's report is, nevertheless, a notable and helpful communication. It presents, in the way least likely to cause alarm, the arguments in favor of an "assets currency." While disclaiming any originality for the suggestions made under this head, the report is well timed to meet and support a growing public demand for a currency more responsive to the varying needs of business, especially those of the crop-moving season.

As was expected, Secretary Moody's first annual report makes an earnest appeal for more officers and men for the navy. Unlike his predecessor, he passes over the question of more ships with the moderate statement that he believes it to be his "duty to recommend a continuance without interruption of the increase of ships." The precise type of ships he is quite willing to leave to the wisdom of Congress. He is even ready to admit that there are "differences of opinion among naval authorities" upon this point, and therefore he thinks that two battle-ships will about fill the bill. This is in refreshing contrast to the perfervid appeals of his predecessor, whose insistence that the spending of $100,000,000 on battle-ships was the best possible use to which the money could be put in the interest of labor, made him a laughing-stock. Secretary Moody's latest tables as to the dearth of officers show that there will be a deficiency of 1,360 at the end of the next four years. Apparently, Mr. Moody and his fellow-advocates foresee an endless increase of ships and men. If we build two more battle-ships and a few more cruisers every year, we have no doubt that tables could be prepared showing that by 1910 we shall need 2,360 more officers to man our swollen fleets, and so on *ad infinitum*. If it is not time, as we think it is, to stop building more ships, it is at least time for our legislators to sit down and formulate a distinct policy, fixing definite bounds to our naval expansion and allowing the public to pass upon them.

Mr. James Breck Perkins, the historian, who is Congressman from the Rochester district, has been interviewed by the *Democrat and Chronicle* of that city on several subjects appertaining to his public duties, and among others that of the tariff. He says that he intends to introduce two bills at the opening of the session—one to repeal the duties on coal and meats, and the other to repeal those on hides and rough lumber, clapboards, and shingles. He doubts whether either of these bills will be passed at the short session, but he thinks that it would be good politics for the Republican party to pass the former of the two within a week after the session begins. Mr. Perkins is a protectionist, but says that he does not intend to be humbugged by names. A duty of 67 cents per ton on coal and of 5 cents per pound on beef is not protection, but an imposition on American laborers and manufacturers. "Sooner or later," he adds, "bills like these will be passed. If, while I represent this district in Congress, I can in any way contribute to reducing the price of the coal that burns in the stove, or lessening the cost of the meat that is cooked in the kitchen; can make it possible for the manufacturer to turn out his shoes cheaper, and the artisan to build his house for less money, I shall feel that I have been of some service to my constituents." Mr. Perkins is well qualified by training and reputation to become a leader of the advanced thought of the Republican party on this question.

The failure of the attempt to settle the anthracite dispute by direct negotiations shows that the matter was so complicated as to require the services of an impartial commission. That the pressure to carry out the arbitration by commission should come from the independent operators is also highly significant. These gentlemen are in a better position than the railroad mining companies to deal at first hand with their own workmen, while they gain correspondingly little from general agreements. Their belief that the whole anthracite situation should be presented before the special commission and given to the public will be generally shared, for no settlement of the dispute is likely to be permanent unless it has the approval of the public and is openly made on the basis of facts.

The sudden displacement of the Minister of Colombia at Washington and the appointment of the Secretary of Legation to take charge of the negotiations respecting the Panama Canal, point to an early adjustment of the questions at issue. It is said in explanation of Minister Concha's stubbornness on this subject that, in his view, the granting of perpetual control of the strip of land through which the canal must pass would be a violation of the Constitution of Colombia, which forbids the abrogation of sovereignty over any part of her territory. Of course, this is a respectable position for any government to take, and for any Minister to insist upon if his Government so holds. Yet that view seems somewhat incongruous with the power granted to the United States by treaty to keep the Panama Railway open, which power was exercised by us only a few weeks ago, when an American Admiral sent an armed force to remove obstructions to transit placed there by other armed forces. This was or was not an infringement of sovereignty, according to the viewpoint of the individual observer. If he is a strict constructionist he will say that it was; if not, not. But, in fact, this power was granted to us when the Panama Railway received its charter, and has been frequently exercised without protest from the Government of Colombia. Possibly the Constitution of Colombia has been changed since those powers were conceded to us. All these questions, however, seem likely to be settled satisfactorily, now that the Government at Bogota has taken them out of the hands of Mr. Concha. Secretary Hay seems

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to have scored another victory of considerable importance.

The London *Daily News*, commenting on the situation in Venezuela, holds that if the United States is to have the privileges of the Monroe Doctrine, she should also have its duties, among which is that of preventing the South American republics from becoming a danger to the civilized world. The *Daily News* here shows a deficiency in the sense of humor which we have often noticed in the attempts of statesmen and publicists of the Old World to understand the Doctrine. The great merit of the Doctrine lies in the fact that its limitations have never been defined. Consequently, it is adapted to all sorts of emergencies. It is like the auctioneer's garment, "large enough for any man and small enough for any boy." It fits the case of Venezuela now just as well as it did seven years ago. At the present time, that country is higgling over her debts to England and Germany, relying on the United States either to give bail for her, or to prevent the creditors from collecting their money by seizing her custom-houses. According to the latest advices from Washington, we shall do neither. The Doctrine never made us responsible for the borrowings or pilferings of the transient governments of Central and South America. The only thing that could make us responsible for such claims would be an attempt on our part to prevent other nations from collecting what is due to them, and using such force as may be needful to that end. The question may be asked, What is due to them? Anything is due to them which they have our permission to collect. This shows the adaptability of the Doctrine to all possible cases.

The monetary situation in Mexico deserves the attention of the ex-Bryanites. Our gold dollar is worth $2.85 in Mexican silver. That is, the national money is cheap and plentiful. The planters, though probably ignorant of Gresham's law, rejoice at the prospect that the cheap dollar will stay in the country, and feel that the widening ratio of silver to gold is a matter which affects only the bankers and merchants of the cities. Thus a rudimentary division of the nation into "silverites" and "gold bugs" is already apparent. How long the agrarian classes will be delighted to receive more dollars which are progressively worth less in gold or in goods, remains to be seen. It always takes a certain time to discover the fallacy of high prices paid in a depreciated currency. But Mexican bankers and importers are under no illusions in this matter. They are already making gold contracts, and reckoning with a fluctuating foreign exchange. It will be interesting to see if this capitalistic preference for the yellow metal will not produce a Populistic movement in behalf of the dollar of the fathers. But the Mexicans have this advantage over ourselves, that, while the people are subject to all sorts of political aberrations, the Government will treat the monetary problem in the cold light of reason. Abraham and his four hundred shekels of silver are not likely to be cited before the Congress of Mexico.

We are much pleased with the "authoritative" announcement from Platt's friends in Washington that he is willing to abdicate on condition that his son Frank be elected in his stead. Why not? If the Senatorship is Mr. Platt's personal property—as he undoubtedly considers it to be—why should he not be allowed to make it over as a family heirloom to his dutiful son? Simon Cameron passed on the Pennsylvania Senatorship to his son Don, just as Quay is understood to be making ready to elevate his son Dick to our hereditary House of Peers; why should not Platt be entitled to do what he will with his own in similar fashion? The son could not be a more useless Senator than the father. He could vote as straight, be as dumb, and as eagerly grab all the patronage in sight. What more would New York have in the way of a representative? We fear, however, that even the Republicans in the Legislature are not yet disciplined to the point of swallowing everything bearing the name of Platt without gagging. Frank Platt has so publicly, and on so many occasions, displayed what Swinburne calls "facetious idiocy," that he would have to pay a thumping inheritance tax before being allowed to take over the Senatorship under his father's will.

Popular discussions on the stump during the recent campaign doubtless led many persons to suppose that the canal improvements in this State could be carried out forthwith, whenever one party or the other said the word. Those who gathered this impression must have been somewhat surprised, during the last few days, to learn that nothing like agreement exists on so important a detail as the route of the enlarged waterway. Of course, the questions of route must be settled before the people can be asked intelligently to pass upon the proposed expenditures, and it is really an encouraging circumstance that the serious consideration of this problem has begun. The decision lies between the lake route, which contemplates a use of Lake Ontario for a distance of 112 miles, terminating at Oswego, and the route across the State substantially following the line of the present Erie Canal. The advantages claimed for the lake route, which has been favorably reported on by State Engineer Bond, are less cost and smaller maintenance charges, besides shorter time required to traverse the canal. These claims undoubtedly have a substantial basis. Engineer Bond has estimated that the canal, by the lake route, could be improved to 1,000-ton barge capacity, and the present Erie and Champlain canals substantially enlarged at a cost of $60,000,000, which is $20,000,000 less than the cost of a similar canal over the present route. The estimated difference in time favorable to the lake route is thirty-five hours for barges and forty-five hours for propellers. With the use of Lake Ontario and also of Oneida Lake, there would be 195 miles of open waterway, requiring no maintenance whatever.

These arguments, though forcible, are by no means conclusive. The claims made for the route across the State are exceedingly strong. The lake route proposed would leave out Rochester and Syracuse altogether, besides many other smaller towns and cities which owe their importance in part to their positions on the line of the present canal. Side lines and feeders for the use of these centres would but lamely answer their needs. Buffalo, also, has reason to fear the lake route, and is emphatically against it. While it contemplates transhipment at Buffalo, and provides for the use of practically the present route from Buffalo to Lockport, it is quite likely that shippers might readily fall into the habit of sending their grain and other freight by steamer through the Welland Canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario and thence over the open lake to Oswego, there to tranship and enter the barge canal. This might be fine for Oswego, but it would arouse fear lest the enlarged canal might become a mere chute for the passage of freight to this port, without other benefit to the State. If it is true that local traffic should be an important feature of the improved canal (and it seems to us that it ought to be), the objections to the lake route deserve most careful consideration. Practically, also, the friends of the canal improvement project must take into account the political bearing of the two propositions. How can a route be adopted which is opposed by Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and many other communities formerly counted as advocates of the canal improvements?

Much curiosity, and some perplexity, exist in regard to the Elevated and Subway merger. The question is asked, what the Subway enterprise has to gain by leasing the Elevated roads, on terms which are certainly very liberal. The 7 per cent. dividend to be guaranteed on Elevated shares is pledged to a property which has been paying only 4 for five years past, whose highest record has been 6, and whose capital stock is being heavily increased. The two undertakings will, of course, be competitors at

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the completion of the Underground; they are, for the most part, parallel enterprises. Experience with this city's development has taught that inroads of new competition on the earnings of a local transportation enterprise will be only temporary; diversion of traffic to the new route is apt soon to be offset by pressure of increased traffic on both. But experience has also shown that shrinkage of the older enterprise's earnings may, in the interim, be severe. When the surface railways, in the nineties, extended their facilities and became, in fact, competitors for the Elevated's "short haul" traffic, each of the above-named principles was demonstrated. During the fiscal year 1893, the Elevated system carried 219,621,000 passengers, and earned $11,137,000. Yet within six years its passenger movement had declined to 177,204,000, and its earnings to $9,325,000. About that time, as residents of the city very well remember, pressure of moving population overflowed even the greatly expanded facilities of the surface lines, until, in the fiscal year just closed, passenger traffic on the Elevated had risen to the high-water-mark of 223,427,000, with earnings of $11,067,000.

It is announced, as one purpose of the pending merger, to mitigate the violence of this intervening shrinkage. How it can be done by the act of a management is not altogether plain. "Rate-cutting," the nightmare of other railway systems, plays little part in the Subway and Elevated plans; for the reason that rates per passenger are virtually fixed. Nor is it likely that competition can be modified by avoiding, on one line, train schedules which should draw patronage from the other. This question, too, is practically decided in advance for each. The probability is that the amalgamators have in mind possibilities of "splitting of fares" by one or the other company with the surface lines—or, later on, with railways, such as the Pennsylvania or the Central, whose terminals touch the local railway stations. This might conceivably be used as a weapon of competition. If this supposition be correct, it will be interesting to see how the general plan works out. The rather strong feeling in financial circles has been that close coöperation between the various local and outside transportation enterprices in the matter of travelling facilities is a certainty of the future.

If labor unions or any of their members have standing in court; there is no reason why they should not apply for the legal remedy of injunction, and in a proper case receive it, even though they are strikers and the injunction is sought to restrain their former employers. What lends novelty to the case of this kind at Vineland, N. J., is the fact that it indicates that at least the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada is willing to countenance "government by injunction" provided it be on their side. This association is seeking to restrain the Jonas Glass Company of Minotola, N. J., "from interfering with the business of the strikers." It is charged in the complaint that the company has attempted to intimidate, frighten, and drive away the labor association and its officers, that strikers who gathered at the railway station to meet incoming trains bringing non-union workmen have been assaulted with force of arms by persons hired by the company, and that representatives of the company have threatened to kill some of the strikers and to destroy the strike headquarters. The court, therefore, is asked to enjoin the company. An order to show cause has been granted. The proceedings on the return day will be watched with great interest.

Careful reviews of the work of Circuit-Attorney Folk, who has broken up the boodle ring in St. Louis, show that the two great qualities which have brought him his success are fearlessness and single-mindedness. His course and character are worth studying by reformers everywhere. "I told the men who nominated me that I didn't want the office," said Mr. Folk the other day; "for I felt that if elected the task for me would be tremendous. But I was elected, and I set about to do my duty as I saw it. I had to prosecute some of those very men who nominated me. Some of them are in the penitentiary, some are under bonds as indicted perjurers and bribe-takers." The best of this is that it is true, and it is also true that Mr. Folk has been able to convict not only the bribe-takers, but some of the wealthy bribe-givers as well. Some of the Missouri newspapers are nominating him for all sorts of offices, but it is quite clear that he has not been actuated by motives of political ambition. "I don't think I could be elected for another term," he said recently, and added grimly: "Ninety-nine per cent. of the people are honest and want honest government, but, unfortunately, the remaining one per cent. are perniciously active." Though a Democrat, Mr. Folk is meeting the strong opposition now of the Democratic machine. Naturally, the Democratic leaders are not anxious to advance him, for he has promised them that if he gets a chance he will expose and punish the State boodlers as he has the corruptionists in St. Louis.

By an excellent provision in the laws of Indiana, a sheriff who allows a prisoner placed in his custody to be lynched forfeits his office. Gov. Durbin has acted promptly in the case of Sheriff Dudley of Sullivan County, who permitted, if he did not connive at, the lynching of a negro on November 20, and has notified him that he must turn his office over to the county coroner. The sheriff may, however, be reinstated if he proves that he was really powerless to prevent the outrage. Meanwhile, his friends assert that the delay in sending troops was the real cause of the disgrace. The Indianapolis *Journal*, in commenting on the affair, says that it had "all the features of a flagrant violation of the law," and adds that there "was no doubt of the prisoner's speedy trial, conviction, and punishment." By the Indiana law of 1901, assisting at a lynching is murder; and merely looking on is a crime punishable by not less than two or more than twenty-one years' imprisonment. The power and duty to prosecute were taken out of the hands of the local law officers and placed in those of the State's Attorney-General. The latter is expected to act at once in this case, which is the first under the new law. If Indiana can make examples of a dozen of these murderers, it will perform a great service for the entire Union, for its course in the matter will attract national attention.

Irish troubles, which recently looked at their worst, seem likely to be compounded temporarily through conference of the landlords and tenants. Mr. John Redmond has almost expressed confidence in the ability of the Government to deal successfully with the land question, and apparently the recent jailing of Irish editors and members of Parliament under the Crimes Act has been quite forgotten. The present good feeling is a favorable antecedent to the land-purchase bill which Mr. Balfour has promised to introduce at the next session of Parliament. It is quite natural that the Irish should look for practical relief rather to Mr. Balfour than to the disorganized Liberals. The stalwarts, under Campbell-Bannerman, have by no means made their attitude clear in this matter. That they are in favor of thoroughgoing legislation they insist, but this is after all a generality, and it would be difficult to pin the regular Liberals down to open advocacy of Gladstonian home rule. If their attitude is ambiguous, that of the Rosebery faction is doubly so. Its leader is irrevocably opposed to an Irish Parliament, but would see without concern a number of legislative bodies in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, or even "one such body," in each of these portions of the kingdom—which seems like home rule under the sweeter name of "devolution of power," but may mean nothing at all except that Rosebery is in the mood of conciliation. Until the Liberals know their own mind on this subject and show signs of coming to their old strength, Mr. Redmond, and even his imprisoned colleagues, can hardly be blamed for looking to Mr. Balfour.

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CASTE AND ANTI-CASTE.

President Roosevelt's letter to a citizen of Charleston protesting against the appointment of a respectable colored man to the collectorship of that port as "an insult to the white blood," is a half-battle word. Publication of it is in wholesome conformity to Lincoln's sagacious use of this citizenlike mode of making known his policy—in wholesome contrast to McKinley's crafty avoidance of it. It is short, dispassionate, dignified, entirely frank; the manly expression of the President of the whole people. "I cannot consent," he says, "to take the position that the door of hope—the door of opportunity—is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the grounds of race and color." And again: "If, as you hold, the great bulk of the colored people are not yet fit in point of character and influence to hold such positions, it seems to me that it is worth while putting a premium upon the effort among them to achieve the character and standing which will fit them." This is worthy of Lincoln, and we know of no answer to it except the hoary Southern interrogatory, "Would you have your daughter marry a nigger?"

The President justly lays stress on his consistent attitude in this matter, both as Governor of New York and as Chief Magistrate. He has made, and is making, occasional appointments of worthy colored men to office, not questioning their equal claim to it with any worthy white man. He has always sympathized with the efforts within and from without the South to enlighten, elevate, and purify the great mass of manhood there imbruted by slavery. To this end he conferred, a year ago, with Booker Washington at his own table at the White House, and for this he was denounced in the Southern press in terms which we recorded at the time—"blunder," "crime," and "studied insult to the South" among them. He holds fast to the doctrine of the perfectibility of man, abhorrent though it be to every white Southerner, and means to judge his fellow-beings not according to the accidents of birth and descent and complexion, but on grounds of character such as won for Booker Washington an honorary degree from the college of the great Northern defender of the Fugitive Slave Law. Such judgments are not unknown even in the South, where we read from time to time of white attendance at the funeral of some black man who has extorted the respect of the entire community. The spectacle would be more edifying if it did not suggest the brutal apothegm, "There is no good Indian except a dead Indian."

Mr. Roosevelt properly makes light of his correspondent's holding up the bogey of a return of negro domination at the South. It is, however, true that the sting of that domination was not merely the travesty of government under the carpet-bag régime. It was also and peculiarly the sight of the black man not "in his place." Grant that his "place," as a consequence of the civil war, was no longer chattel slavery; that limbo was still one in which he could by no possibility be looked up to by the meanest, most illiterate, and most shiftless white. Southerners are proverbially fond of titles, military and civic and pay their wearers due respect on account of them—take off their hats to them, to use an allowable metaphor. Imagine their revolt at being put in the attitude of hats off to those expected for centuries to uncover to "white blood" in every relation. Northerners will in vain try to enter into the humiliation of having to ask one black office-holder for your daily mail, and pay your taxes to another, without being able to bring yourself to address either even as Mister. Nothing more curiously than this repugnance illustrates the Southern view of office, not as a service to the people who created and filled it, but as a social distinction. It was, in the old oligarchical slaveholding days, a distinction reserved chiefly for a very small portion of the whites; but, as a symbol, it is now cherished as the last which enables the most degraded white to hold his head above the most upright, best educated, and most prosperous colored man. The suffrage is tending to take a place beside it as such a symbol, but the solemn pledges of Reconstruction here retain some force to tolerate a negro vote, besides that usage has dulled the "insult" of the implication of social equality. Yet colored disfranchisement has grown to such an extent as to emphasize the shocking contradiction between it and Federal appointments to office like that of which the "prominent citizen of Charleston" complains to President Roosevelt. Can we keep the negro obsequious at the polls if we have to settle with him for import duties at the custom-house?

To the Southern "Never" opposed to a black career proportioned to talent, President Roosevelt's "open door" should be an epoch-making response. It might be if the Republican party had not practically thrown off all its old guardianship of the freedman. In view of the disposition of the Supreme Court towards the Southern Constitutional disfranchisement dodges, not to mention other familiar obstacles arising from our form of government, the party has perforce stayed its hand; but it has at the same time forborne to bear unremittingly its moral testimony. If it has not ventured to make reduction of Southern representation in Congress a standing plank in its platform, neither has it given voice there to its disapproval of the obliteration of the black vote. No universal outcry has arisen, either, against the creation of a select white Republican party at the South, by the so-called "lily white" movement, for collusion with which the President has just removed an internal-revenue collector in Alabama. In fact, there is no denying, as we might call Senator Hanna to witness, that the Republican party organization at the South has been fostered largely for its corrupt serviceability in gambling at Republican national conventions.

We must, therefore, applaud President Roosevelt's moral courage, both as regards the South and as regards his own political organization, the one of which he mortally offends, and the other conspicuously transcends. It is a quality which every one may cultivate in the quiet, and for which strenuousness affords no preparation—at least no necessary preparation. On this side we trust his example may bear fruit with the rising generation, more apt to enrol itself among his followers because of his showy and fussy manifestations. His just meed, however, is likely to be obscured in our present reaction from the moral exaltation of the anti-slavery struggle, and it may be left to the historian to single out this episode in Mr. Roosevelt's administration as the noblest and brightest jewel.

We cannot close our remarks on his letter in the Crum case without citing one more passage, of which we will not question the sincerity: "I do not intend to appoint any unfit man to office." This declaration is general, but contains an allusion to the especial necessity, when selecting colored men for appointment at the South, of not increasing the race odium by imposing misgovernment on a region where postmasters have been mobbed to death for no other reason than their color. No political debts can, if only in mercy to the incumbent, be paid there in bad coin. The late President McKinley, it is notorious, was not so scrupulous. But it would be a reproach to his successor to think him simply politic in the case of black appointments, and not governed by the fundamental principles of civil-service reform which he has so long professed and sought to put in effect. It is, then, all the more astounding that he should have made a white appointment in Delaware which subverts the policy affirmed above. He has not only appointed an "unfit man," professionally, but one whose political associations should have barred him out as peremptorily as his Charleston correspondent would have had his color preclude the choice of Dr. Crum for collector. If to be the friend, henchman, and tool of Addicks is not enough to disqualify, what becomes of the rule laid down? We fear the President has not read the moral of his own virtuous and most laudable action in South Carolina.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The President is to be praised for cutting down his message below the usual portentous length; but he could easily have substituted for the first column a simple "See my speeches and books, *passim*." Passing, then, to the really significant parts of the message, there are three subjects upon which public attention will be fixed. About them debate has centred since Congress adjourned; they figured largely in the November elections; over them future political battles are expected to rage. What has the President to say about these burning questions? How does his present attitude toward them compare with the one he held a year ago; and with the position he has since taken in his public utterances?

In the matter of Cuban reciprocity, we have to note a distinct lowering of tone, on the President's part, since last December. Then he boldly urged Congress, "by every consideration of honor and expediency," to pass a bill "providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States." Such a measure was put before Congress, bitterly fought, and finally defeated. President Roosevelt, however, went to the country, or was understood to go to it, and said that the bill would be passed in the present session "sure as fate." But now he has quietly abandoned that whole plan. All that he says is that he "hopes" soon to submit a Cuban reciprocity treaty to that graveyard of reciprocity treaties, the Senate, and that he urges its ratification as a way of "stretching out a helping hand to a weak sister republic." Not a word about being bound by "honor"; above all, not a word about a reduction in the tariff duties for Cuba's benefit. No wonder that Senator Hoar is certain there will be no legislation in behalf of Cuba this winter. The President's Cuban sword has grown rusty and lost its edge.

We are bound to believe that Mr. Roosevelt's heart is in his policy of regulating Trusts, yet even here he is singularly vague and inconclusive. He does not specify a single definite evil or name one precise remedy. It is true, he refers Congress to the recommendations of his former message—which were, in a general way, publicity and national supervision—but they are pretty well forgotten by this time. Nor is the memory of them likely to be sharpened by the President's careful balancing now on both sides of the question, and his final recommendation—in language as futile and evasive as that which President McKinley used about the Trusts, and which they read and then went off chuckling—that Congress pass "a law *reasonable in its provisions and effective in its operations*." That will not frighten anybody. This entire part of the message will, in short, be taken as an effort to qualify and minimize the President's previous deliverances on the subject of Trusts. Attorney-General Knox's speech at Pittsburgh was worth a dozen of it for directness, lucidity, and vigor.

Our dislike of the sections of the message which refer to the tariff is not due to the fact that we do not agree with the President's opinions, but rather to the fact that it is so difficult to make out what those opinions are. He talks like a man who has had contradictory views strongly urged upon him, and has accepted them all in the most catholic spirit. His first proposition is that tariff reduction is no remedy for Trust monopoly. We regard this both as unsound and as a particularly unfortunate thing for a President to say who asserts that he is determined to curb monopoly. Removal of tariff duties on Trust-made articles is at least *a* remedy, and for the President to push it aside necessarily throws a cloud upon the sincerity of his whole position. But he goes on to argue that the tariff should not be meddled with, since it is so important to maintain "economic stability." So far we can understand him. He is on the ground occupied by high and dry protectionists like Senator Hale, who says it is sacrilege to touch the tariff at all. But what does the message do next but go on to suggest several ways in which the tariff might be and should be amended!

To bring out this inherent confusion, we arrange the President's propositions in order:

(1.) The tariff should not be changed.
(2.) One way in which it should be changed is by means of reciprocity treaties.
(3.) If the reciprocity idea does not apply, then there may be "a lowering of duties on a given product."
(4.) If a "given rate of duty does promote a monopoly which works ill, no protectionist would object to such reduction of the duty as would equalize competition."
(5.) "In my judgment, the tariff on anthracite coal should be removed."

If any man can detect an underlying philosophy, a clear grasp of the subject as a whole, in President Roosevelt's declarations about the tariff, he can do more than we, with the best will in the world, are able to. Our feeling, as we read, is like that of the man who listened to a plagiarized sermon, and commented on the various passages, "That's South. That's Taylor. That's Blair." In like manner we find ourselves involuntarily saying, as the President's conflicting proposals pass before us, "That's Hanna. That's Spooner. That's Cummins. That's Babcock." But nowhere do we find Roosevelt himself, nowhere the true leader with definite convictions and a settled policy. The President seems, in other words, to have listened amiably to various influential requests to "put in" things about the tariff, and to have put them in, whether they eat each other up or not. The sounding of such an uncertain trumpet cannot lead to any serious preparations for battle. A hesitant message points the way, we fear, to a wasted session.

SECRETARY ROOT'S REPORT.

Secretary Root returns to the subject of a General Staff for the army undeterred by the prevailing impression in Washington that this Congress has no thought of accepting the plan. It may be his belief that Gen. Miles's absence from the country makes this an especially fitting time to nail his colors to the mast. He has, at least, done so with his usual ability. Were Congress to put aside the traditions of the War of the Rebellion and to judge of this matter in the light of modern experience and needs, the General Staff Bill would go through with a rush, despite the personal hostility of the superannuated chairman of the Senate Military Committee, and others like him.

It is a simple business proposition which Mr. Root is advocating. No head of any great enterprise would undertake an important mercantile operation, calling for the expenditure of large sums of money, without first surveying the field and making all possible preparations in advance of the hour set for the undertaking. Everything would be so arranged that the mere pressing of a button would set a corps of experts at work executing well-thought-out plans and policies. Secretary Root asks only that thirty-seven experts be given him to prepare for the event of hostilities. They are not to be permanently detached from the line, but to return at the end of four years. During their detail they are to "look, hear, and think" for the whole army. They are to "consider the military policy of the country, and prepare comprehensive plans for the national defence and for the mobilization of the military forces in time of war." They are to do this privately and quietly and without flourish of trumpets.

For Congress to refuse to provide this General Staff would be for it to vote in favor of the total lack of foresight, and the chaos and disorder, of the Spanish war, as a result of which large numbers of men perished unnecessarily. Without a General Staff, the important reforms already achieved by Mr. Root—the War College, the Service and Post Schools, the interchangeable staff and line, the promotion of distinguished officers—will lose much of their effectiveness. Save for the War College, the great educational system into which Secretary Root is transforming the army in accordance with European standards will be without a proper apex. But Secretary Root strives to allay a silly national prejudice by stating frankly that he desires neither a Ger-

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man nor a French General Staff, but a body of men selected and organized in our own way. Provided the work can be done by efficient men, their title and their organization count for nothing. Mr. Root more than offsets Gen. Miles's opposition to the plan by a most effective quotation from Gen. Schofield. There is, indeed, nothing valid now to be said on the other side of this question.

Upon the necessity of an educational transformation, Secretary Root again dwells at length. Barring service in the Philippines, the army has returned to peace conditions. Nearly the entire body of lieutenants is made up of new and untrained men, many of whom are mentally and physically not up to the standards of 1898. If our future generals and colonels and staff officers are to be worth having, this new material must be digested and assimilated. In order to this, Mr. Root has sent nearly 140 officers to the service schools, and is concentrating the troops in as large posts as possible, having wisely decided that small posts make for increased cost and for military indolence. Doubtless Mr. Bryan will claim credit for the Secretary's determination, "so far as practicable, to get the army posts out of the cities and large towns." There are adequate enough reasons in Mr. Root's desire to move the men away from evil surroundings, and to obtain more room for drills, on a large scale, without turning to political motives and fear of the labor vote for an explanation. It is needless to say that the bulk of the troops will still be kept near railroad and strategic centres, in order that they may be moved quickly and efficiently in emergencies. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Secretary Root's annual appeal for the beer canteen, is, in short, an affirmation that the present law makes for the physical and moral deterioration of the men—although the law, as we have frequently pointed out, has had only a brief and unfair trial.

Turning to the militia, Secretary Root renews his advocacy of the Dick militia bill, which passed the House at its last session, and which is quite likely to become a law, despite the rush of business. Briefly stated, the fundamental idea of the bill is to recognize the value to the national Government of the militia. If passed by Congress, the military force of the United States will be as follows:

First. The regular army, capable of enlargement by the President, when he sees war coming, to 100,000.

Second. Such of the organized militia (already trained as a national guard, and just as valuable, when used in the manner hereinafter indicated, as any other troops) as the President shall see fit to call into the service of the United States for not exceeding nine months, to repel invasion.

Third. A first volunteer reserve, composed of such companies, troops, and regiments of the organized militia already trained as a national guard as volunteer by organizations with all their officers and men.

Fourth. A second volunteer reserve, composed of men previously enrolled and having previous military training in the National Guard, the regular army, or the volunteer army, and commanded by officers whose fitness has been previously ascertained by practical tests under the provisions of the militia act.

Fifth. Such further volunteers as it may be necessary to call forth from the States, according to their respective quotas, and commanded by regimental officers appointed by the Governors of the States.

Mr. Root estimates that there will be from 250,000 to 300,000 troops of some military training available under the first four classes—a number more than large enough to supply all the country's needs under any conceivable circumstances save civil war. The present antiquated organization makes for inefficiency even when the State troops are called out for State purposes, as was shown only too clearly in Pennsylvania during the coal strike. Moreover, the bill increases the military resources of the United States along historic and American lines by enlarging the citizen soldiery, as opposed to the standing army with its manifold evils. It will add no little to Mr. Root's prestige should this bill become law.

CURRENCY QUESTIONS FOR CONGRESS.

Dispatches from Washington betoken a revival of interest among Congressmen in banking questions, and especially in the branch of it commonly called "assets currency." This renewed interest is perhaps a consequence of the recent action of the American Bankers' Association at New Orleans, providing for the appointment of a commission of seven representative citizens to report changes in our banknote system for the future consideration of the bankers themselves and of Congress. The action taken at New Orleans derives its chief importance from the fact that the bankers have generally been the most conservative class in the nation in the views which they have held on this subject. They have been the ones most opposed to change, and most steadfast to prevent any deterioration in the value of the money, whether metallic or paper, which passes from hand to hand and forms the basis of all credits and the key to all business transactions. As they are required to receive in payments to themselves all national bank notes issued, they have the strongest possible motive for keeping the currency in a sound condition. The risks which they run from an unsafe currency are greater than those incurred by any other class; their knowledge of what is unsafe is better than that of any other; and it may be affirmed that any system of note issues to which they give their assent may be safely accepted by other members of the body politic.

The capital of the national banks is now something more than $700,000,000, but their circulation is only $330,000,000, or less than one-half the amount authorized by law. In 1881, that is, twenty-one years ago, the volume of circulation was about the same as it is now. In 1890, midway between the two periods, it was as low as $122,000,000. Special inducements have been offered by successive Secretaries of the Treasury to the banks to increase their circulation, but with indifferent success. When Congress, in 1900, changed the law so as to authorize the issue of notes to the par value of the deposited bonds, there was an immediate and large increase of circulation, showing that whenever the banks could make a profit by issuing notes they were quick to do so.

The scarcity and increasing price of Government bonds is usually assigned as the reason why banknote circulation does not keep pace with the growth of bank capital, of business, and of population. That this is an influential factor in the case is quite evident, but if the bonds could always be obtained at par, the banker would still be obliged to invest $105 in order to get $100 of circulation—the extra $5 being in the redemption fund at Washington. Let us take the simple case of a bank with $100,000 capital, which invests $90,000 in bonds at par, by means of which it gets an equal amount of circulating notes. It deposits $4,500 in the redemption fund. It then has $95,500 to do business with, provided all the notes can be kept out all the time, but in point of fact they cannot all be kept out. More or less of them will be returned to the bank as deposits. More or less will be sent to Washington for redemption, and the express charges must be paid by the issuing bank. The bank must also pay the cost of printing the notes, and of replacing worn and mutilated ones with new ones.

Banks use their capital as a foundation for credits, which they advance to their customers in the form of loans, to the amount of three or four dollars of credit for one of cash. The capital and surplus of the national bank is about $1,000,000,000, and their investments in interest-bearing securities is three and one-half times as great, or $3,500,000,000. They get the same percentage of profit for the use of their credit as for the use of cash. The bank exchanges its well-known credit for the less known credit of its customers, and keeps a reserve proportioned to its liabilities, but the reserves cannot consist of banknotes, in whole or in part. In the case considered above, the bank has $5,000 less money to do business with than it would have had if it had refrained from issuing notes, and this $5,000 might be made the basis of $15,000 to $20,000 of loans. In other words, a bank not issuing notes would have an advantage of that amount over a note-issuing bank, which would be off-

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set, however, by the interest on the security bonds in the Treasury, which is in turn offset in part by the tax on circulation and various incidental expenses. The highest rate of profit obtainable on $100,000 of circulation in excess of the amount obtainable from direct use of the same sum of money where the 2 per cent. bonds are used as the security, amounts to $796 only. This profit is too small to be attractive to banks of large size, even if bonds of this class were still available, as they are not.

The deadness of the national bank circulation, its tendency to diminish rather than to increase or keep pace with the growth of population and trade, has led to the proposal, now advanced at Washington, to accept State and municipal bonds as security for banknotes. This idea derives some support from the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury recently accepted such security for deposits of Government funds in national banks. As a tentative step toward liberalizing banknote issues, this change might be admissible, but it would not furnish any real relief from the hidebound system which prevents banks from making use of their credit in the form of notes, as is done in nearly all civilized countries.

It is evident that the agitation in behalf of a more flexible currency has made a lodgment in the higher official circles at Washington. It is reported that the Secretary of the Treasury himself is among the number of those who are prepared to take a step in the direction of assets currency—a currency based upon securities in the control of the banks instead of the Government. If this rumor proves to be correct, it will at once bring on a discussion of methods for reaching that result. And thus the approaching session is likely to be a fruitful one, at least in the way of preparing the public mind for currency reform.

THE STANDARDIZATION OF SPORT.

Readers of a certain age will remember a book (which is still sought by collectors in the earliest, and read by children in the latest editions) entitled 'Science in Sport Makes Philosophy in Earnest.' In it children are led by a series of experiments and observations presented as games, to ponder upon the laws of the universe—that is, in the nomenclature of a pre-scientific era, to become adepts in "natural philosophy." This feeling, that sport should in some fashion serve the cause of philosophy, has led the radical golfers of England to approach Mr. Balfour on the matter of the codification and emendation of the rules of that ancient but ill-regulated game. As a lifelong golfer and a recognized philosopher, the Prime Minister could not fail to give the matter his careful attention, and the petitioners an explicit answer. He appears, in his reply, as the advocate of individualism and the opponent of standardization. He writes:

"I should view with great apprehension the introduction into golf of so great a novelty as that of the standardization of the implements to be used by the player. Such standardization cannot logically be restricted to the balls, and it would be a pity, I think, to destroy the practically unlimited freedom of selection, which, among all games, belongs, so far as I know, alone to golf."

The merriment of Opposition editors and non-golfing politicians over Mr. Balfour's dictum seems misplaced when it is remembered that his plea for individualism in his favorite sport falls in happily with Herbert Spencer's attack upon the general "regimentation" of society, in his latest volume of essays. But, of course, Mr. Balfour had primarily in mind the interests of sport. It is indeed anomalous that a man is never so bound by rule and custom as in his playtime. Nobody may force him to conduct his business correspondence in one way rather than another, or to keep a card catalogue rather than an address book; but so soon as he boards a yacht, mounts a horse, or handles a ball, he comes under a Draconian code which prescribes his goings and comings, the implements he uses, and the very clothes he wears. Where written rules do not bind him, a mysterious "good form" hampers his natural movements, and in many respects he becomes the slave of his recreations. The Virginia breeder who lately appeared at the Horse Show in such housings as he wears on his own farm, showed some deficiency in sense of the fitting, but he also showed a courage which his perfectly appointed associates in the Show might well envy.

Probably sport has never been more free from this formalizing tendency than society at large. We read in romance that the youthful Tristan once landed at Cornwall and came upon the end of a stag hunt. The nobles were quartering the carcass in some barbarous fashion. Tristan indignantly seized the knife and made the division according to the ancient rules of venerie, giving to each his part, from the chief of the hunt to the dogs, and thus good hunting customs were introduced into Britain. The process constantly repeats itself. In our own day we have seen old-fashioned "rounders" develop into baseball, with an elaborate legislative code and a body of diplomatic and judicial practice which covers every point of the eligibility, transfer, and even the sale of players. Football has gone very much the same way. Changes in the game and charges of false play are discussed with conciliar gravity. Even polo has renounced the advantages of its Oriental (consequently vague) origins, and the prominent clubs of England and America are considering a plan for abolishing the few distinctions that mark the play of the two nations. As for yachting, the dispute between Mr. Lawson and the New York Yacht Club is still a malodorous memory, and a signal instance of the dangers that attend the standardizing of manly sport.

So far as uniformity is in the interest of the sport itself, no sensible person will oppose his personal preference to the common utility. But very often the motives that lead to the adoption of the x-ball, the y-bat, or the z-target are by no means disinterested. Frequently the profit of a particular dealer rather than the convenience of the player guides the choice, while if the standardization of sporting "togs" were deeply probed, there can be no doubt that natural selection would vanish behind the bland and persistent terrorism of the tailors of our generation.

In fishing, shooting, and golf the individual still makes a certain stand against the game. An unwritten law tells him what is sportsmanlike, and for the rest—clothes, tackle, and minor matters of deportment—he does as he lists. In bespeaking this wholesome irregularity for the game of golf, Mr. Balfour has shown himself no less a sportsman than a philosopher. He remembers that favorable evolution depends upon the arising of favorable variations, and that an absolute rule of uniformity would first retard and finally stay the evolutionary process. This is true of games, and it is true of society at large. So, when the formalists fret over new balls of marvellous carrying qualities, and rage at those two-handed pneumatic engines which masquerade as golf clubs, and seek to reduce the game to rule and measure—the truly philosophical, golfers or otherwise, will welcome these uncouth contrivances as the sign that in one game at least the individual is free to face unterrified the overt tyranny of rules and the more subtle oppression of "good form." The golf-links of the land remain individualistic oases in an age of universal regimentation.

Correspondence.

"LYNCH LAW."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The subject of lynching has a threefold interest—historical, etymological, and practical—and deserves to be treated at length; but the material already collected by the present writer is so extensive that only an outline can be given here. There are various conjectures as to the origin of the term, no one of which is wholly satisfactory. In *Niles's Register* for August 8, 1835, it was stated that the practice arose "many years ago" in Washington County, Pa., and that the party which held an impromptu trial of a poacher "proceeded to try him in due form, choosing one of their number, a farmer named *Lynch*, to be

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judge" (xlviii. 402). Nothing further is known of this alleged farmer. Lynch law is also variously stated to have derived its name from James (or Walter) Lynch, Mayor (or Warden) of Galway in 1491; from a man named Lynch who is said to have been sent to America in 1687-88 to suppress piracy; from John Lynch, for whom Lynchburg, Va., was named, and from Charles Lynch of Virginia (a brother of John). Of these, the only one whose claims deserve serious consideration is Charles Lynch. For a fuller and more accurate account of him than can elsewhere be found, the reader is referred to an article on "The Real Judge Lynch," by T. W. Page, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1901 (lxxxviii. 731-743). Charles Lynch was born in 1736, he was a justice of the peace both before and after the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, in 1780 he illegally fined and imprisoned certain Tories, in 1782 an act passed the Virginia Assembly holding him and others indemnified for suits brought on account of such illegal acts (*Va. Statutes*, xi. 134-5), and he died in 1796. Unfortunately, Professor Page assumes but does not prove the connection between Charles Lynch and lynch law. Other derivations of the term have been suggested. Meanwhile, what are the facts in regard to the history of lynch law? The following extracts briefly indicate this history from the earliest known appearance of the term down to 1850:

"In the year 1792, there were many suits on the south side of James river, for inflicting Lynch's law." 1817, Judge S. Roane, in W. Wirt's *Life of P. Henry* (1818), p. 372. In a note (but whether written by Roane or by Wirt is uncertain) we read: "Thirty-nine lashes, inflicted without trial or law, on mere suspicion of guilt, which could not be regularly proven. This lawless practice, which, sometimes by the order of a magistrate, sometimes without, prevailed extensively in the upper counties on James river, took its name from the gentleman who set the first example of it."

"Two years ago, a young Yankee, of the name of Williams, became the object of a malicious prosecution here, on suspicion of robbing a store. Circumstantial evidence of the worst kind only could be adduced, and he was, as is common in this country, acquitted. The people of the place, however, prejudiced against him, as a Yankee, deputed four persons to inform him, that unless he quitted the town and state immediately, he should receive Lynch's law, that is, a whipping in the woods. He departed, with his wife and child, next day, on foot; but in the woods, four miles from Princeton [Indiana], they were overtaken by two men, armed with guns, dogs, and a whip, who said they came to whip him, unless he would confess and discover to them the stolen money, so that they might have it. He vainly expostulated with them; but, in consideration of his wife's entreaties and cries, they remitted his sentence to thirteen lashes. . . . This poor fellow was of respectable parents at Berlin, in the state of New York. . . . He quitted the state, and returning, soon after, to prosecute his executioners, died at Evansville, before he had effected so desirable an object." 1819, Nov. 29. W. Faux, *Memorable Days in America* (1823), pp. 304, 305. On Dec. 27 Faux met the widow of Williams (p. 326).

"Among the early settlers there was a way of trying causes, which may perhaps be new to you. No commentator has taken any notice of *Linch's Law*, which was once the *lex loci* of the frontiers. Its operation was as follows: when a horse thief, a counterfeiter, or any other desperate vagabond, infested a neighbourhood, evading justice by cunning, or by a strong arm, or by the number of his confederates, the citizens formed themselves into a '*regulating company*,' a kind of holy brotherhood, whose duty was to purge the community of its unruly members. Mounted, armed, and commanded by a leader, they proceeded to arrest such notorious offenders as were deemed fit subjects of exemplary justice; their operations were generally carried on in the night. Squire Birch, who was personated by one of the party, established his tribunal under a tree in the woods, and the culprit was brought before him, tried, and generally convicted; he was then tied to a tree, lashed without mercy, and ordered to leave the country within a given time, under pain of a second visitation. . . . Whenever a county became strong enough to enforce the laws, these high-handed doings ceased to be tolerated." 1828, Judge J. Hall, *Letters from the West*, pp. 291, 292.

"'Lynch's law.' We have heard, that capt. *Slick* summoned his corps the other night, and obtained possession of a man with whose misdeeds they had become familiar, carried him to the prairie near town, and administered 'Lynch's law' upon him in fine style. He received about fifty lashes—and was ordered to decamp. The offence consisted in cheating at the gambling table." 1833, Oct. 5, *Niles' Register*, xlv. 87. This was at St. Louis.

"He was, therefore, for tying the young Indian to a tree and giving him a sound lashing; and was quite surprised at the burst of indignation which this novel mode of requiting a service drew from us. Such, however, is too often the administration of law on the frontier, 'Lynch's law,' as it is technically termed, in which the plaintiff is apt to be witness, jury, judge, and executioner, and the defendant to be convicted and punished on mere presumption." 1835, W. Irving, *Tour on the Prairies*, pp. 41, 42.

"In Natchez, negro criminals only are thus honoured—a 'coat of tar and feathers' being applied to those white men who may require some sort of discipline not provided by the courts of justice. This last summary process of popular justice, or more properly excitement, termed 'Lynch's law,' I believe from its originator, is too much in vogue in this state." 1835, J. H. Ingraham, *The South-West*, ii. 185, 186.

"Warwick, the murderer of Mr. Fisk, . . . was tried this week at Fayette [Miss.]. On account of some technicalities of the law failing to be observed, the prisoner was discharged. He had no sooner, however, emerged from the court house, than he was stripped of his clothing, and a plentiful coat of *tar* and *feathers* applied to him. He was afterwards whipped until almost insensible to pain; and to restore his feeling senses, we understand, a large quantity of spirits of turpentine was poured upon him. . . . It is said that during the execution of judge Lynch's sentence, the culprit frequently begged to be shot, but was told that such a death was too easy for him." 1835, Aug. 8, *Niles' Register*, xlviii. 397.

"We mentioned above that P. C. Damewood had been discharged; but no sooner was he out of the view of the court, than apprehending judge Lynch's law, he put out in a hurry. He was pursued and caught, and received a very decent flagellation. . . . There was some defect in the indictment, which the high court of errors and appeals was compelled to regard, but which the advocates of judge Lynch's court thought proper to rectify, and Mr. Damewood's back bears evident marks of the supremacy of Lynch's law." 1835, Aug. 22, *ibid.*, xlviii. 436.

"I suppose you have heard of the presentation of a stout gallows to me, at 23 Brighton Street, Boston, by order of Judge Lynch. It was destroyed by the city authorities. . . . The slave States continue to be excessively agitated. They appear to have organized Vigilance Committees and Lynch Clubs in various places." 1835, Sept. 17, W. L. Garrison, in *Life* (1885), i. 519. Garrison refers to the erection before his house of a gallows on the night of Sept. 10, bearing "on the cross bar . . . an inscription, *Judge Lynch's Law.*"—(*Boston Advertiser*, Sept. 12, p. 2/4.)

"Our village [Kanawha Salines, W. Va.] was thrown into considerable commotion on Friday morning last in consequence of the arrival of judge Lynch among us. His business was soon ascertained, and by his authority four white men from Ohio, . . . were soon arrested and tried before 12 intelligent persons of our county, for endeavoring to persuade several slaves to leave their masters, for some free State. . . . These congenial spirits of Garrison, Tappan & Co. were arrested in the neighborhood of our village, tried, condemned, and received the sentence pronounced on them by the jury. That is to say, Joe Gill and the elder Drake to receive nine and thirty lashes each, and leave the county in 24 hours; the younger Drake, with Ross, to be discharged for want of evidence, but with a promise from them that they would also quit the county in 24 hours. The evidence . . . produced an unanimous verdict on the part of the jury, that two should be *Lynched* and the other two excused, provided they would leave this part of the country." 1835, Oct. 3, *Niles' Register*, xlix. 76, 77.

"*A tale of terror!* We learn from St. Louis that . . . the negro was then secured and committed to prison, but . . . he was delivered to the mob, who conveyed him to the outskirts of the city, placed a chain round his neck and a rope round his body, and fastened him to a tree a few feet from the ground, when they then placed fire round the tree and literally roasted him alive!" 1836, June 4, *ibid.*, l. 234.

This was the famous case, date of April 28, which the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy censured in his *Observer*, along with Judge Lawless's removing it from the grand jury on the ground that the law could take no cognizance of the acts of a frenzied multitude. In consequence, Lovejoy was forced to remove his paper to Alton, Ill., but not before the St. Louis mob gutted his printing-office. His subsequent mobbing to death in Alton is well known.

"On this night it appears that some personal friend of Mr. Brux, who had been killed by Giquel, in company with several other individuals, feeling exasperated at the release of Giquel, and the judge who had been the author of it, proceeded to the residence of judge BERMUDEZ, with a view *to Lynch him*, or to inflict *some severe punishment upon his person.*" 1835, Oct. 1, *ibid.*, li. 69.

"We have been informed that the slave *William*, who murdered his master . . . was taken by a party, a few days since, from the sheriff of Hot Spring [Ark.], and burned alive! yes, tied up to the limb of a tree, a fire built under him, and consumed in slow and lingering torture!" 1836, Dec. 31, *ibid.*, li. 275.

"At the same hour when the customary sins of the slave-market were being perpetrated, hundreds of the little people of Charleston were preparing for their childish pleasures, . . . ministers of the gospel were agreeing to deprive persons of colour of all religious education: a distant Lynch mob was outraging the person of a free and innocent citizen." 1838, H. Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, ii. 87.

"The Lynch law of the present day, as practised in the States of the West and South, may be divided into two different heads: the first is, the administration of it in cases in which the laws of the States are considered by the majority as not having awarded a punishment adequate, in their opinion, to the offence committed; and the other, when from excitement the majority will not wait for the law to act, but inflict the punishment with their own hands." 1839, F. Marryat, *Diary in America*, iii. 232, 233.

"Forty years ago, the practice of wreaking private vengeance, or of inflicting summary and illegal punishment for crimes, actual or pretended, which has been glossed over by the name of *Lynch's Law*, was hardly known except in sparse, frontier settlements, beyond the reach of courts and legal proceedings." 1839, *Southern Lit. Messenger*, v. 218.

"*Lynchers punished—A good example.*—In Yazoo, Miss. some time ago, a Mr. Harris, for some real or supposed offence, was severely lynched by H. W. Dunn, C. W. Bain, and others. He prosecuted those two individuals for the outrage, and the case was tried at the late session of the circuit court of Yazoo county. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff of $20,000." 1839, June 15, *Niles' Register*, lvi. 256.

"LYNCHING. A singular act of lynching was perpetrated recently at the Oberlin theological institute, of Ohio. Some of the members . . . secured the man's person, gagged and blindfolded him, and then inflicted 25 lashes on his bare back with a cowhide. They then directed him to leave

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the town forthwith, without going to his room." 1841, Jan. 9, *ibid.*, lix. 304.

"The citizens of our border country have witnessed these men under the name of regulators and moderators, committing in the territory of Texas some of the most barbarous cruelties of the nineteenth century. . . . We are aware that . . . among the more wise and better informed, impressions are almost established permanently, that Arkansas is a place where no law is recognized but *Lynch l iw*, and no rights acknowledged unless maintained by brute force." 1841, Nov. 6, *ibid.*, lxi. 149, 150.

"It is reported that the two men named Redman, brothers, with five others, were recently arrested in the vicinity of Davenport, charged with the murder of Colonel Davenport. Suspicion was strong as to their guilt. We have heard rumors that Lynch law had been inflicted upon both the Redmans since their arrest—that they both were hung." 1845, Oct. 25, *ibid.*, lxix. 115.

"Yet outrages the most terrible succeed each other rapidly:—men are lynched and stabbed and shot with as little compunction as you would feel in spitting a goose! . . . The other class . . . were then either lynched and warned to leave the county in so many days, or else shot if they persisted in remaining!" 1845, *American Rev.*, i. 121, 122.

"I expressed my horror at these transactions, observing that Florida, if in so rude and barbarous a state, ought not to have been admitted into the Union. My companions agreed to this, but said they believed the man had fair play on his trial, and added, 'If you were a settler there, and had no other law to defend you, you would be glad of the protection of Judge Lynch.'" 1846, Sir C. Lyell, *Second Visit to the U. S.*, ii. 32.

"The system of 'regulators,' and their ever concomitant opponents, the 'moderators,' WILL NOT DO, and as soon as two regularly organized parties are found to exist, it is the part of every wise man—who has due regard for his life and peace—to move, at any sacrifice." 1850, *American Rev.*, xi. 462.

From this evidence and from other material in my possession, it appears that the original term was "Lynch's law"; that this was soon shortened to "Lynch (or lynch) law," and then to "lynch"; that originally lynch law was a whipping or other personal chastisement; that lynch law originally obtained only in the border settlements, where the administration of justice either was or was supposed to be uncertain; that in the early days of lynch law, innocent persons were sometimes punished, and suits for damages were by no means unknown; that, about 1830, writers regarded the practice as on the wane and likely soon to disappear altogether; that before about 1835 the victims of lynch law were generally whites, occasionally Indians, but never negroes; that soon after 1830 a revival of lynch law took place, due to the anti-slavery agitation, and the practice spread throughout the country; that between 1830 and 1840 the term lynch underwent a change in meaning, and "to lynch" acquired the sense of to put to death; that during the same period negroes were first lynched; that about 1835 we first hear of "Judge" Lynch; and that in recent years lynching has been confined largely, but by no means wholly, to negroes in the South and West. It further appears that there is a direct historical connection between the killing of a negro in a highly civilized community in 1902 and the whipping of a white man along the frontiers in 1817. Step by step, the illegal whippings of 1817 have led to the illegal burnings alive of 1902. In short, the more civilized the country has become, the more brutal has been the punishment meted out under lynch law.

It will be observed that in some of the extracts cited above, there is mention of lynchers under the name of "regulators." Now the words "regulating," "regulation," and "regulator" were first employed in this country, so far as I am aware, at the time when the so-called "Regulators" came into existence in the back settlements of the Carolinas in 1768. It has been asserted that lynch law derived its name from Lynch's Creek, S. C., because at that place the practice of lynching began. This derivation of the term has yet to be proved, but the following extracts show that there were at that period instances of lynch law, in its original meaning of a whipping, and that the Regulators held a meeting at Lynch's Creek.

"CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA, . . . July 25. . . . The last Accounts from the Back Settlements, say, that the People called the REGULATORS were to have a Meeting at Lynch's Creek, on last Friday, where it was expected 1200 would be assembled." 1768, Aug. 22, *Boston Post Boy*, No. 575, p. 2 /1.

"*Charlestown, (South-Carolina) Sept.* 12. The people called regulators have lately severely chastised one Lum, who is come to town; but we have not yet learnt the real cause of this severity to him." 1768, Sept. 26—Oct. 3. *Boston Chronicle*, No. 42, i. 381 /2.

"*Charlestown South-Carolina, August* 16. The outrageous opposition lately offered to the civil authority near Marr's Bluff on Pedee river, being at present a general subject of conversation, and by many attributed to the people called Regulators it may not be amiss to lay before the public the following information, viz. That there are two parties so called, and the proceedings of the one is frequently confounded with those of the other. That the first (called the honest party) consists, in general, of people of good principles and property, who have assembled chiefly about the Cougarees, the Ridge, &c. professedly with the view of driving all horse thieves, with their harbourers, abettors and other vagabonds, from amongst them; and that the other (called the rogues party) are a gang of banditti, or a numerous collection of outcast mullatoes, mustees and free negroes, all horse-thieves, &c. from the borders of Virginia and other northern colonies (the very people whom the regulators would have expelled the province, or brought to justice) and have taken up arms to carry on their villainy with impunity. The last accounts we have received of both are, that the former, on the 11th past. took one Charles Sparks of infamous character, on Pedee, and order[ed] him to receive 500 lashes, and quit the province. And of the latter, that an armed company of them, headed by one Gideon Gibson, on the 25th past, near Marr's Bluff, surrounded a constable and twelve men, who were sent to bring one of the villains before a magistrate, and after a smart skirmish, wherein two of the constable's party were mortally wounded, and one shot through the shoulder, took the rest prisoners, whom he discharged, after ordering them 30 lashes each." 1768, Oct. 3—10, *ibid.*, No. 43, i. 388, 389.

Obviously, we here have the thing itself, though not our now familiar term; and references to lynch law between 1768 and 1817, under any name, are much to be desired.

ALBERT MATTHEWS.

BOSTON, October 24, 1902.

THE SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As I read the correspondence between the United States and Spain (Foreign Relations of the United States, Dec. 5, 1898) relating to the period immediately preceding our latest war, I notice two letters that have a very strong bearing on the case, but to which, in your splendid article "At the Bar of History," of July 4, 1901, you do not refer. One, dated April 4, 1898, and written by Mr. Day to Mr. Woodford, reads (*omissis omittendis*):

"We have received to-day from the Spanish Minister a copy of the manifesto of the autonomy government. . . . It is not armistice. . . . It is simply an invitation to the insurgents to submit. . . . It need scarcely be pointed out that this is a very different thing from an offered armistice."

The other letter, written by Señor Polo de Bernabé to Mr. Sherman, reads, in part, thus:

" . . . that her Majesty the Queen Regent has given appropriate instructions to the general-in-chief of the army of Cuba, to the end that he shall concede an immediate suspension of hostilities for such a time as he shall deem prudential. General Blanco . . . reserves to himself to determine the duration and other details."

Your conclusion, drawn solely from the Queen's manifesto proclaiming "immediate and unconditional suspension of hostilities," would have been greatly modified had the contents of these two letters formed a part of your premises. But, though your conclusion was defective for want of some relevant premises, ethically it is the only just conclusion—a conclusion not dependent on the infantile technicalities of diplomatic correspondence.

Yet, in justice to those who, without tearful cant, openly advocate aggression, it should be admitted that, if by some unthinkable chance they can escape the "rebarbarizing" reaction of warfare, they will, in a measure, further evolution by killing off those whom they accuse of retarding it. The more scrupulous, however, who are not inclined to be the scavengers of evolution, ought to be glad that there is a sort of men who cheerfully do the dirty work of what they imagine to be progress.

JOSEPH DICK.

TOLEDO, O., November, 1902.

[The article referred to expressly restricted itself to *new* matter. The citations made by our correspondent are from documents long before made public; and, as he perceives, are in no real contradiction of the inferences which we drew from the later and suppressed dispatches.—ED. NATION.]

THE FOOTBALL DEBAUCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Would it not be well for the serious-minded American people who have ideals for higher education, to take a moment of meditation to ask themselves whether they propose, without protest and in despair, to permit the colleges and universities of the country to continue the annual football debauch? That it is a debauch we need only present as testimony the columns of the daily press for the past month, including the notes on betting. But there are inside facts which we may well doubt whether many good people who lend their approval to the game are aware of. The brutality of the game may easily be seen; but the secret dishonesty which the excited rivalry leads to is not perhaps known to many outside college walls. What this rivalry is, how presidents of the smaller colleges are coming to regard the football teams as advertising adjuncts in the competition of student-getting, only those who are on the

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inside can know. I have myself heard a college president appeal to a football team, in an assembly of all the students, in terms that would lead one to believe that the future of the college almost depended on winning a certain game.

Now what all this leads to is a disgraceful winking at anything to win. It is bad enough for thoughtless students to fall into the temptation of playing men under false names without the knowledge of the college authorities—I have known this to be done—but the debauch has not stopped at this. By the connivance of college authorities men are played who have only a fictitious connection with the college; *and the students of the college know that the college authorities aid and abet such action.*

In another college than the one referred to above I know the following facts to be true. A student was matriculated at 4 P. M. one day to play the next morning, when there was no intention on the student's part of attending the college. He has other business. In this same game two other players had, by the college rules, absolutely forfeited their right to play. *This was known to the students,* and yet not a member of the faculty was brave enough to protest, so intense was the feeling about winning the game. I may add that the game was won, and mainly through the "great work" of the false student matriculated at 4 P. M. on the preceding day. The opposing team had consented to accept him because they themselves had been guilty of an irregularity.

I have before me a letter received by a friend from a correspondent living near another college. It is proper for me to say that the specific instances I cite refer to small colleges. I suppose the larger institutions have not the same temptation of playing false students. The college to which I now refer has hitherto prided itself on its high moral tone. Its new President has the reputation of being a hustler for athletics, and by personal appeal he secured the return of B. for the football season. B. had already made arrangements to attend a professional school. The letter says:

"B. did matriculate and take a class or two, and will be paid enough for playing to get his outfit for winter, and to take him to ——, and to give his mother a little; and she is satisfied provided he does not get hurt. He will go to —— as soon as the ball season is over, about the 25th, I believe.

"Many are quite disgusted with Dr. ——. Say he is doing so much about athletics, and letting down the dignity of the university in many ways, just to get a large number enrolled, and does not care whether they stay or not if he can make it appear in the catalogue that the number of students has increased under his presidency."

Unless I am greatly mistaken, this private note, which had no thought of publication, will touch many responsive chords.

In this communication I have spoken only of the moral side of the football debauch. I have said nothing of the neglect of work caused thereby. This is another story.

Very respectfully, MEDIUS.

November 27, 1902.

"LATTER-DAY SUPERSTITIONS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Assuming what is almost certainly the case, that your readers are misinformed respecting Theosophy, I hope it is not presumptuous in one who professes information on the subject to say that Mrs. Tingley is not a member of the Theosophical Society established by Mme. Blavatsky and Col. Olcott, and that she has repudiated all connection with it. Furthermore, by explicitly condemning one of the most prominent of Theosophical writers, she has thereby implicitly rejected the views of all other Theosophical authors of to-day. Mrs. Tingley, moreover, is called by her followers their "Leader," while the members of the Theosophical Society have never acknowledged any leader, and to them the possibility of leadership is wholly unintelligible. Theosophical students —while, of course, they are entirely indifferent to the opinion of those who are ignorant of their beliefs and pursuits—are nevertheless unwilling to be classed, by implication, with those who have long since seceded from the body known throughout the world as the Theosophical Society, the sole aim of which—I would alone add—is the study, by purely scientific methods, of the manifestation of the Divine Wisdom in the visible and invisible realms of nature.

FREDERIC WILLARD PARKE.

BOSTON, MASS., November 30, 1902.

Notes.

Mr. S. S. Rider announces, in his Providence *Book Notes*, the near completion of his 'History of the Development of a Constitutional Government in Rhode Island.' This off his hands, he will resume the issue of his much-prized Rhode Island Historical Tracts.

Messrs. Scribner will publish next week Gen. De Wet's vigorous work on 'The Three Years' War.'

Little, Brown & Co. give notice that their three-volume trade edition of 'The Speeches and Other Writings of Daniel Webster, Hitherto Uncollected,' goes over till after the holidays. Nearer are 'The Last Days of Pekin,' translated from the French of Pierre Loti, by Myrta L. Jones, and 'First-Hand Bits of Stable-Lore,' by Francis M. Ware, finely illustrated.

In our favorable notice last year of the Blashfields' 'Italian Cities' (Scribners) we spoke of this work's capacity for interleaving with photographs by tourists whom it had served as an uncommonly trustworthy unconventional guide-book. Whether acting upon this hint or not, the publishers, who have purged the plates of some of the typographic infelicities pointed out by us, now offer the two volumes greatly enhanced in beauty and in value by forty-eight full-page illustrations from Alinari photographs. The selection has been admirably made and is remarkably unhackneyed; we cannot recall a better in a work of this character. Each subject is carefully described in the table. Here is a gift-book indeed.

A presentable one-volume edition of Burns's Poetical Works, annotated by William Wallace, LL.D (London: Chambers; New York: Dutton), is characterized by clear type and numerous illustrations from paintings, often of Scottish scenery. The notes are at the foot of the page.

John Lane extends his pocket "Lover's Library" with 'Love Poems of Herrick,' with the usual delicate colored borders and pretty binding.

A notable example of compression without illegibility and of comprehensiveness without bulk is offered by the latest volume in the "Oxford Miniature" series, viz., 'Aurora Leigh, and Other Poems, by Elizabeth Barrett Browning' (H. Frowde). The selections are from the early poems, together with a general miscellany and the Sonnets from the Portuguese. The Oxford India paper enables the 948 pages to occupy no more cubic space than 3 inches x 4½ x ¾. There are indexes by first lines and by titles.

While discoursing *de minimis*, we may mention a reprint of Thoreau's 'Life without Principle,' with Emerson's brief sketch of the author, published at the Sign of the Hop-pole, Eden Bridge, Kent, Eng. There is not much to say of it except that the Chiswick Press has done well by the typography of the oblong page.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have been well advised in going abroad for an illustrator of Kate Douglas Wiggin's 'Penelope's Irish Experiences' in a new edition. Mr. Charles E. Brock's deft hand has adorned Mrs. Wiggin's lively chapters amusingly and characteristically with pen sketches in the letterpress, with which they harmonize very successfully.

Alice Barber Stephens's designs for Little, Brown & Co.'s new edition of Miss Alcott's 'Little Women' are of a superior order. They are elaborate wash-drawings, clever in execution, full of detail, with a feminine mastery of female costume and a happy regard to the fashion of the day of the "little women." Each has a full page to itself, if we except the vignette of the title-page. Few classics are so well treated.

Messrs. Wainwright and Palmer's 'Harvard Alphabet' (Cambridge: Harvard Cooperative Society), is a favorable sample of the college humor that has sustained the *Lampoon* for so many years. The verse is bright, and the illustrations (by two unnamed designers) make a good match. It should be said that much of the jingle is collegiate rather than Havardiensian, so that at other institutions this handsomely made volume is capable of finding favor. Yale, we are sure, would take kindly to the letter G:

"G what a Game!
Why the deuce can't we score?
It is always the same,
Hully Gee! what a game!

The half-backs are lame
And the line men are sore.
Gee! what a game!
Why the deuce can't we score?"

With the letter H, embodying an old Jo, the case might be different.

'Recollections of Dublin Castle and of Dublin Society, by a Native' (Brentano's) is amusingly written, evidently by one who has had experience of Dublin life in the *fifties and sixties.* Perusal will bring up many recollections, both sweet and bitter, to those who have lived in the metropolis of Ireland within the period treated. The book is, however, more than less of a caricature, and is as likely to be acceptable to thoughtful Irishmen as must be "nigger" literature to persons of the colored race. The burlesque portraiture of the Earl of Carlisle (Lord Morpeth), one of the best of noblemen, is peculiarly ungracious. Books such as this and 'Ireland Sixty Years Ago,' which appeared in the forties, are seldom written concerning

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phases of life among people who have the power to compel respect.

It is pleasant to welcome a genealogy in which moderate size and sufficient fulness are so well joined as in the 'Descendants of Richard Everett of Dedham, Mass.,' by the late Edward F. Everett of Cambridge (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son). The family is not a very large one, and cannot be said to have been always prominent in the whole length of the annals of New England. In the last century, however, it had its full share of honor in the persons of the Rev. Oliver Everett and his gifted sons, Alexander H. and Edward, and grandson, William Everett; Horace Everett of Vermont; the Rev. Dr. Charles C. Everett of Harvard, and David Everett, author of "You'd scarce expect one of my age." The notices of all of these, while short as biographies, may perhaps be described as models for their place in a book of family genealogy. There are several portraits in the volume, among them two of the Hon. Edward Everett, one of the Hon. Horace Everett, which might almost be taken for a head of Rembrandt, and one of the author, Edward F. Everett, which, in the opinion of a classmate, is a wonderfully good likeness. The volume declares itself to be "privately printed," yet appears to be offered for sale. It comes to us by way of the above firm, but we understand that application for copies should be made to Mrs. Edward F. Everett, Cambridge, Mass.

Seventeen years ago we spoke of a work by Dr. Douglas Graham as "a valuable professional book for which, and for the subject to which it is devoted, we venture to predict distinguished success. But it will come slowly." The third edition of his 'Treatise on Massage' (Lippincott), illustrated and much enlarged, is evidence of this success. The treatise is a capital demonstration of the value of external treatment in many and serious conditions, and its considerable claims do not transcend the truth. One might wish the style more dignified at times; but facts are better than style, and these are perfectly satisfactory. We are glad to commend it again to our medical readers and to intelligent laymen.

The D. Van Nostrand Co. bring out an eighth edition, "carefully revised and enlarged," of Mackrow's well-known and indispensable 'Naval Architects' and Ship-builders' Pocket-Book.' More recent examples of ships might be cited than the obsolete *Agincourt*, *Bellerophon*, etc., while the persistent misspelling "Mesaure" (p. 615) suggests that the revision might be still more "careful."

Mrs. Candace Wheeler's 'How to Make Rugs' (Doubleday, Page & Co.) is an earnest plea for the resuscitation of the handloom of our foremothers, put to the use of producing rag, cotton, and woollen rugs and portières. She appeals for workers to the farmer's family and rural communities, and incidentally to any "kind and cultivated" folk who can act as go-betweens for the country supply of the loom and the city demand. The book is a practical one of direction as to details of coloring and weaving, with the true artistic feeling one would expect from the writer. May the ideas of such women as Mrs. Wheeler and Mrs. Albee bear abundant fruit in our *machine*-carpeted land!

Of Mr. H. W. Macdonald's essay entitled 'Electric Waves' (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan) we can only say here that it constitutes a highly important contribution to the mathematical theory of electricity, going down to the very bottom of the subject, and putting it in a much clearer light for the mathematician.

Part IX. of 'The Georgian Period,' the excellent publication of the American Architect and Building News Co., is at hand. In this number much attention is given to the neighborhood of Charleston, S. C. The text and plates may be considered as being in continuation of Part X., forming with it a study of the very interesting and characteristic "Old Colonial" architecture of the Sea Island district and of the upper country which depends upon it. Since the days when the exigencies of civil war carried some of us to the seacoast thereabouts, there has been little occasion to visit the somewhat out-of-the-way villages and places of summer resort in which these admirable houses and almost equally interesting churches are to be found. But the city of Charleston itself furnishes St. Michael's Church, to which several plates are given, and St. Philip's Church, which is almost as fully illustrated. There are also the unique and attractive village church at Santee and some admirable tombs, of the kind which were built on the plantation for the inhumation of successive generations, like the very well known instance at Mount Vernon. The text is furnished by C. R. S. Horton, E. Eldon Deane, and Olive F. Gunby.

The same firm announces 'The Seats of the Colonists and Other Furnishings.' The idea once entertained of including colonial furniture in 'The Georgian Period' has, it seems, been definitively abandoned; and the work just named will be undertaken if the subscriptions are sufficiently numerous. The cost of it is to be $20. Horace C. Dunham of Boston and W. Galsworthy Davy, a well-known English compiler of archæological books, will furnish measured drawings and photographs, and the book promises to be of very great interest and value.

Adelaide Keen's 'With a Saucepan Over the Sea' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) is a compilation noticeable for wise selection and judicious condensation. Like many of its predecessors, however, its use will be confined to those who have more than elementary knowledge of cookery. The professional domestic cook, we fear, can hardly be induced to read it and follow faithfully its directions and suggestions. Nothing but praise can be bestowed upon this epitome of the more savory and piquant culinary concoctions of the various European nationalities. The author is to be congratulated upon the discrimination which leads her to include in her list garlic sauce (Provence). Unfortunately, she gives the formula in terms so general that it will not be intelligible to more than one in a thousand into whose hands the book may fall. The making of this sauce involves a great deal more than she indicates in the recipe. It is observable in almost all cooking compilations issued in this country that a *liaison* made of beaten yolks of eggs to combine or amalgamate the ingredients of a soup or sauce is rarely mentioned, whereas abroad this amalgam is strenuously insisted upon. In the recipe for garlic sauce, Miss Keen makes no mention of this important factor.

The sixteenth volume of the 'Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society,' just issued, is eminently a source book of knowledge regarding Wisconsin under the French régime from 1634 to 1727. The editor, Secretary Thwaites, has here compactly stored multitudinous historic materials in part known only to himself, or not before translated, or accessible only in the archives of Canada or France. The work is distinctly annalistic, having topics ranged under more than a hundred dates. The seventy-three volumes of 'Jesuit Relations,' edited by Mr. Thwaites, and as many more other works, are laid under contribution, so that many subjects imperfectly treated in former volumes of the Society onward from 1855 are elucidated. The rise and progress of fur trade and missions, which walked hand in hand, are cleared of many obscurities. Indians are shown *in puris naturalibus*, just as they were when first encountered by whites. The difficulty or impossibility of benevolent assimilation between fur traders and natives is strikingly illustrated, each proving a curse to the other; the one becoming a hard master and the other a refractory slave. The corruption among French officials is a startling object-lesson that irresponsible power will be abused so long as man is man. A mission was established near the head of Lake Superior in 1660; how much had then been done in Massachusetts? In 1701 more than 30,000 pounds of copper ore were mined on Blue Earth River. This history will be doubly read, thanks to thirty-five pages of index by Miss Blair, who, by her wonderful labor in that line for the 'Jesuit Relations,' has won national laurels. Every page makes references we are eager to trace.

The *National Geographic Magazine* for November controverts the prevailing impression that Lake Erie is getting lower. The contrary is true, according to Prof. E. L. Mosely, who asserts that "the slow tilting of the earth's crust in the Great Lake region" is deepening the lake. The evidence on which he relies is mainly the existence of submerged stumps and stalagmites, the formation of marshes, the conversion of peninsulas into islands, and of islands into reefs. "At many places in northern Ohio roads and houses have been moved south on account of the encroachment of the water. Many orchards have fallen into the lake. The same is true of the Canadian shore. Nowhere is there any building up at all comparable with the amount of land lost. Since 1809, when the first survey was made, more than 500 acres have been lost in Erie County along the lake and in the eastern part of Sandusky Bay, while the enlargement of the western part of the bay probably amounts to several square miles." Considering its source, the article on the course of the retail coal trade by the Chief of Division of Mineral Resources is distinctly disappointing as a contribution to our knowledge of a subject of great importance. From a brief account of the work of the Signal Corps for the last fiscal year it appears that the telegraph system in the Philippines was increased by 2,600 miles, making the total 6,434 miles. In Alaska, 1,121 miles of land lines and submarine cables have been laid, and there were turned over to the Cuban Government 3,500 miles of wire and equipment which

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had been put in during the American occupation.

In the *Geographical Journal* for November the Rev. George Grenfell describes the upper Congo as a waterway, its currents, floods, and the various obstacles to navigation. There is now on the river a fleet of more than a hundred steamers of all sizes, "from small launches up to crafts carrying between 200 and 300 tons." This is the growth of twenty-one years, the first steamer having been launched in November, 1881. It would be greater but for the difficulty of obtaining food. "After leaving the Pool, nothing or next to nothing is to be obtained for the first 180 miles. . . . After carefully counting the houses in the villages on the banks of the river, and allowing a very full average for the inhabitants of each house, it is perfectly clear that there are not more than 125,000 people in the villages and towns along the 980 miles of waterway." Though the author makes no comment on this fact, it would seem to be a strong confirmation of the charge that the Belgian method of treating the natives tends to depopulate the Free State. Major Rycroft, in telling of a trip along the Mediterranean coast of Egypt, calls attention to the archæological interest of the journey, as everywhere west of Alexandria "one comes across the well-preserved foundations of ancient towns, which should well repay careful investigation." Prof. E. Suess discusses the problems offered by hot springs and volcanic phenomena, especially the question, "whether the water of boiling springs is vadous [that is, of superficial origin] or hypogene." Other articles are a sketch of Capt. Sverdrup's explorations in the Arctic, by Sir Clements Markham, and a visit to the Hoggar Twaregs by W. J. Harding King.

Petermann's Mitteilungen, number ten, contains a summary, by Dr. G. Schott, of recent observations in respect to the distribution of the surface salinity of the oceans. From the accompanying chart it appears that in the Atlantic there are two large areas, north and south of the equator, with a very high percentage of salinity, but in the Pacific there is one comparatively small area with a like percentage south of the equator. W. Stavenhagen sketches the history and present condition of cartography in Russia, and the editor, Dr. Supan, sums up the scientific results of the German and English antarctic expeditions so far as they have been received.

The publishers of *McClure's Magazine* follow good examples in issuing a Complete Index from June, 1893, to April, 1902, inclusive. Authors and subjects together, it fills twenty-nine pages in double columns.

Prof. W. E. Mead of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., solicits answers to inquiries concerning "two distinct ideals of teaching composition" in schools as stated in Circular No. 3 put forth by the Pedagogical Section of the Modern Language Association of America. Those who may be desirous to aid in the investigation, which has a practical end, should send for this circular as soon as possible.

'The Cynic's Calendar of Revised Wisdom for 1903' (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Morgan Shepard) is well named. The division of parts between Oliver Herford, Ethel Watts Mumford, and Addison Mitzner is not wholly revealed. The calendar is in book form, and each monthly subdivision bears a perverted motto, like "Fools rush in—and win, where angels fear to tread." Red borders and red designs give a lurid attractiveness to the cynicism.

—Henry Loomis Nelson writes of 'The So-called Steel Trust' in the December *Century*, continuing that magazine's series of articles on the great business combinations of the present industrial era. Mr. Nelson is rigidly expository, not argumentative. Indeed, he has fought so shy of the argumentative phases of the subject that one feels some defect in the exposition. For the future he ventures only the conditional prophecy that "if the theory of the United States Steel Corporation is vindicated by the test of time, a great advance will have been made by it in the industrial world, which will inure to the welfare of labor and to the benefit of the consumer, as well as to the profit of those who have made the venture." The reader may add for himself the obvious conclusion from the facts presented, that such a universally beneficent outcome of the Trust movement must depend upon the ability of the people, through the national Government, to impose, and the readiness of the combinations in good faith to accept, such legal regulation of the movement as will hold in check the temptation to extortion which great financial power always tends to excite; and will give due assurance against the domination of Government agencies by corporate influences. Prof. W. T. Hewett of Cornell University contributes a very interesting and appreciative sketch of the work of F. W. Robertson, pointing out with keen perception the reasons why his influence must surpass in depth and permanency that of such men as Beecher, Spurgeon, Newman, Liddon, Caird and others, who attracted much wider attention in their time. Weir Mitchell makes a brief study of some seven hundred examples of personal heroism displayed in the attempt to save others from bodily harm. The instances were collected during a period of ten months by a clipping agency, as the result of a discussion over the question whether the civilized world is improving in the quality of altruism. Plenty of altruism in specific cases is developed, but the results are admitted to throw little light on the original question. It would be interesting to have Dr. Mitchell discuss the fact that these displays of altruism in great peril are often by men whose everyday life is, to outward appearances, altogether selfish.

—Richard Harding Davis opens the Christmas *Scribner's* with an article on "The Gentle Art of Bull-fighting." With the eye chiefly upon the profuse illustrations, one might well question the ethical utility of such matter in an American family magazine, but the text puts very effectively the essential brutality and cowardice of bull-baiting, its utter lack of that evenness of chances as between the two sides to the contest which is the foundation of all true sport, as well as its spectacular brilliancy and its power to appeal to a morbid taste for the sensational. Mrs. Lucy Derby Fuller contributes a few letters from Richard D. Blackmore, which she received at various dates from 1879 to the year of his death. Among the items of personal interest to be gleaned from them are his strong repugnance to photographic celebrity, his distrust of his own power as a judge of literature, his keen appreciation of the American interest in his books, and his love for the poetry of Paul Hamilton Hayne. The Editor moralizes upon the vast expansion of American wealth during the present generation, but without any definite conclusions. In "The Field of Art" Will H. Low mildly deprecates the announced intention of Columbia University to establish a department to include practical instruction in painting and sculpture. Aside from the features mentioned, and two short poems, the number is given up to fiction.

—The December *Harper's* is devoted chiefly to fiction and poetry in recognition of the Christmas season. Distinctively Christmas stories, however, are noticeable only by their absence. Margaret Deland draws upon the Old Chester folk for an excellent story, and shows that the resources of Dr. Lavender had by no means been exhausted by former efforts. Among the more serious contents of the number the first place belongs, without contest, to Mr. Swinburne's article on Goneril and Regan. His well-known tendency to superlatives is used without restraint. The one tragedy of "King Lear," he says, would prove its author the greatest poet that ever lived as clearly as does his entire work. The Hebrew prophets and the author of Job may surpass him in imaginative sublimity and passion, but are quite incomparably inferior in imaginative intelligence. Sophocles is his peer in nobility, beauty, and kindliness, "but the gentle Shakespeare could see farther and higher and wider and deeper at a glance than ever could the gentle Sophocles." Aristophanes, with all his infinitely joyous wit and infinitely inexhaustible humor, can set nothing against Falstaff or the Fool. All this from the first column; but it fairly represents any page of the four. In connection with Sophocles, Mr. Swinburne remarks that "Antigone herself—and with Antigone alone can we imagine the meeting of Cordelia in the heaven of heavens—is not so divinely human as Cordelia." This rather strikingly recalls two lines of Carducci's in his stanzas "Beside Shelley's Urn," a sort of *trionfo*, passing in review in pairs the inhabitants of "Fancy's resplendently lovely sea-girt island":

"La pia Cordelia chiama—Deh, candida Antigone, vieni!
Vieni, o greca sorella! Cantiam la pace a i padri."

John D. Champlin, jr., gives us the "True Captain Kidd," stripping the pirate hero of much of the wickedness that has made him popular. Booth Tarkington puts in a spirited plea for the Middle West against a certain condenscension in Easterners, and the Easy Chair drops literary criticism for a moralizing ramble over the grounds of a typical county fair.

—The visit of the Emperor William to his uncle at Sandringham has brought with it a visit to Oxford which will doubtless do much toward shaping the policy adopted at Berlin as to Rhodes scholars. Dr. G. R. Parkin, appointed by the Rhodes Trustees to frame a scheme for the appointment of the American and Colonial schol-

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ars contemplated in the Rhodes will, has no sooner left Oxford than he is succeeded by two representatives of the German Emperor, bent upon a similar errand, and assisted by the experience already accumulated by Dr. Parkin's uncommonly successful plan for feeling the pulse of Oxford upon the general question of Rhodes scholarships and Rhodes scholars. Messrs. Kielhorn and Schmidt have, as Dr. Parkin had done before them, drawn up a list of questions which they have addressed to the several Oxford colleges. One of the plans under consideration seems to be the appointing of young men fresh from the German secondary schools. These youths would go to Oxford for a year, which would be counted as a part of their university career in much the same way as if it had been spent at a German university. The great argument in favor of this plan seems to be that a number of young Germans are in the habit even now of resorting to Oxford for a year. Against it is the consideration that the schoolboy age is one which is too impressionable; youths at this stage might easily learn to love English ways too much or to detest them unreasonably.

NEW EDITIONS OF POE.

The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Edited by James A. Harrison. 17 volumes. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1902.

The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe. With a critical introduction by Charles F. Richardson. 10 volumes. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1902.

At last Poe has come into his own. His text was long the most neglected in our native literature; it is now, if not the best, certainly the most edited of all. Our classics cannot be too often issued, and both these new editions have, each in its own way, novel points of excellence unshared by others. The coincidence of their publication strongly emphasizes the established place of Poe in our standard literature, and the care with which his fame is cherished. The Virginia edition is, indeed, an old-fashioned labor of love, the work of three gentlemen of the University of Virginia where Poe was educated, and sets him forth with local pride as a Virginia product. The more sumptuous "Arnheim Edition" of Messrs. Putnam, introduced by Professor Richardson of Dartmouth College, presents Poe exclusively as a "world-author." In other respects, the two editions are also opposed; and, if the former receives greater attention here, it is because of its unusual claims. The "Arnheim" is a careful standard reprint, in substance, and is content to take its place with others. The Virginia editors are of a different mind. They endeavor to reconstitute the text; they claim that they have freed it from the corruptions of other editors, and that it is now presented in its original integrity for the first time. Such a claim—the question being what is the standard text of one of our most distinguished authors—deserves scrutiny.

The first point made by the Virginia editors (and it is often reiterated) is, that they have gone to the original sources. A hasty reader might get the impression that they only had done so. Griswold, of course, had the original sources, as Poe's executor, for so much of Poe's work as he included in his edition. It is not the fact of going to the sources that counts, but rather the use one makes of them. Griswold attempted no more than a fairly good reprint of what seemed permanent or interesting in the miscellaneous papers of a writer, lately dead, whose place in literature was still to be judged. The edition so made served its purpose until, with the increase of Poe's fame and the lapse of time, something more seemed due him. Stedman and Woodberry then gave a new edition; they went to the original sources, rearranged the matter, modernized the mode of printing as regards spelling, punctuation, and so forth, corrected errors in dates, names, quotations, foreign terms, and the like, and, in a word, established a text such as any author desires of his own works. This was, in fact, a critical edition. There is another way of editing the sources, namely, to reproduce them in their original state. This the Virginia editors have adopted. They have retained the contemporary form in which Poe's writings appeared, in all the details of the printing, and have corrected errors only in the most necessary cases, and then with notice to the reader. It is a facsimile method of editing. Either method has advantages of its own, and both have been applied to many great authors; but, in general, the former is the best for the general public; the latter is the most useful to the special literary student. With this general statement as to the character of the editing, and with the remark that the arrangement is chronological, by divisions, the results may best be illustrated by taking the parts separately, and examining them with regard to the three prime virtues of editing —fulness, accuracy, and authority.

In the "Tales" and "Poems" there is no new matter, and the verbal text does not differ in any material point from that generally received, such variations as there are being in the nature of very minor corrections. The original sources, printed and manuscript, are the same used by other editors, except that the first publication of "The Angel of the Odd" in the *Columbian Magazine* has been found and collated. The identification had been previously made by the late W. M. Griswold. Further research by the editors might not have been fruitless, however; for example, the first publication of "The Sphinx," for the text of which Griswold has been the only authority, was in *Arthur's Magazine*, January, 1846, and an earlier text of "Mystification" than any collated may be found in the *American Monthly* for June, 1837. The novel feature of the edition, under "Tales" and "Poems," is a variorum, showing the state of the text in the different forms published by Poe. As is well known, Poe was accustomed to revise his work of all sorts, and print it over again whenever he had a chance. The extent of this revision is remarkable, and the illustration now afforded of it by this laborious compilation is complete for this section. Woodberry had already done the same thing for the "Poems," but the extension of this method to the "Tales" is the most peculiar and valuable trait of the Virginia edition.

To confine attention to the "Poems," "The Raven" may be regarded as a fair example by which to test the accuracy of the collation. "The Raven" was issued by Poe in the *American Whig Review*, corrected in the *Broadway Journal*, and revised in the edition of 1845; it now is given either in a fourth form, that of Griswold, or a fifth, that of the Lorimer-Graham copy (originally Griswold's) of the 1845 edition, with MS. corrections by Poe. There are thus five distinct forms of the poem. If the variorum of the Virginia editors be compared with these, the following results appear. In the account of the first form, two readings, *mortals* and *something*, are recorded, but do not occur; in that of the second, the same readings are recorded, but do not occur, a variant in stanza xi, 5 is omitted, and a misprint, *vied* for *tried*, should be noted; there is no account of the third form; there is no account of the fourth form, except a reference made to it in the account of the first, and the reference is incorrect; the fifth form is the one adopted in the text. The editors give, however, an account of the form in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, which is verbally the same as that in the *Whig Review*, but differs in punctuation. In describing this, they omit six readings, give in stanza xi. the *Broadway Journal* reading by mistake, and in stanza ii, 2 (as also in the *Broadway Journal* form in the same place) adduce a variation where none exists.

The raven is an ill-omened bird, and makes here a pretty nest of errors. It is not given to editors to be faultless, and this is a peculiarly trying kind of work; the rest of the editing is, on the whole, much more to be trusted, so far as we have examined it. A few other errors may be noted in passing, in case the work should be revised, as it needs to be: in "Al Aaraaf," 1831, lines 26-30, are omitted; in "Israfel," 1831, viii. 4, *so* for *as;* in "The City of Sin" (misprinted *Sea*), 1836, the omission of six lines from 1831 is not noted. The date of "To One in Paradise," in *Godey's*, should be 1834. Misprints are numerous throughout the notes; one in the body of the text, "The Valley of Unrest," line 22, *three* for *there*, may be worth correction. Apart from these matters of detail, we observe that the variant readings of the Philadelphia papers are entirely omitted, as well as those of the Wilmer manuscript and of the manuscript facsimile of the lines to Mrs. Shew.

To pass to the critical writings, it is here that the editors are most proud of what they have accomplished; and if enthusiasm for their author and laborious patience in his service were all there is to editing, they might well be satisfied. They have greatly increased the bulk of the section, partly by including reviews hitherto thought too valueless to be revived, and partly by printing the earlier forms of later critical writing in addition to the latter. The method followed is, in fact, the same as in the "Tales" and "Poems," only, instead of giving the variants in notes, the original articles are reprinted. It is better that there should be repetition, it is said in explanation, than that anything of Poe's should be lost. The results are occasionally surprising, owing to Poe's inveterate habit of using his old material over again. For example, a long review of Hall's 'Book of Gems,' from the *Southern Literary Messenger*,' August, 1836, was reprinted, very slightly revised, in the *Broadway Journal*. 1845; the editors, therefore, give it twice—once in volume ix. 91 as "early criticism," and again in volume xii. 139 as "later criticism." Some passages will be thus found

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in at least three places. In these ways the amount of critical matter is enlarged by the reprinting of earlier forms of papers which have hitherto been taken only in their final forms, and by reviving a considerable portion of transitory and inferior criticism mainly from Poe's youthful period. The section "Marginalia" is much swelled in this way. In respect to fulness, nevertheless, nothing previously unknown has been found, nor is all that is known included.

The critical section, however, raises a much more important question than that of completeness—the question of the authority of Griswold's text in those portions where it differs from the magazine publication by Poe in his lifetime. The Virginia editors challenge it, and assail Griswold's character after the old manner of Poe's apologists. The subject is brought to a head in the text of the 'Literati.' In the "Editor's Preface" the chief editor says, without qualification: "Of the original thirty-eight papers printed by Poe, five found in the current editions are *Griswold's substitutes for Poe's original articles*. We have rejected the spurious papers and put Poe's back in their places." The italics are his own. In the special "Introduction" to the 'Literati,' he adds: "'The Literati of New York City,' now for the first time printed under its own title, just as Poe wrote it, was 'edited' by Griswold, who substituted for Poe's papers on Thomas Dunn English, Mary E. Hewitt, James Lawson, C. F. Briggs and Mrs. F. S. Osgood, other papers in the Poe manner. These Griswold versions will be found in the Appendix." The charge is grave, and should not have been lightly made. It is that Griswold, being Poe's literary executor, tampered with the text, and "substituted," in fact, "spurious" papers "in the Poe manner" for Poe's own articles in these five cases; and elsewhere the position taken is that Griswold, unsupported by an independent text, is untrustworthy. Let us take the case of the paper on Mrs. F. S. Osgood. Griswold's text is printed in the Appendix (vol. xv, 271). If the reader will turn to volume xiii, 175, under the head of "Later Criticism," he will find a paper on Mrs. Osgood published under Poe's name during his life in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1849, and hence here included. It is identical with Griswold's paper, except for some slight variation in the extent of the quotations from Mrs. Osgood's poems, and also for the omission of some five lines at the end. In other words, the paper on Mrs. Osgood, described as "spurious," and written "in the Poe manner," is also printed as Poe's undoubted work. It is hardly credible that so stupid a blunder should have been made, especially when the editor was attacking the character of one of his predecessors; but there the two articles stare the reader in the face.

"We have carefully disentangled what might well be called the snarl of the 'Literati,'" says the editor, and this is the way he began to do it. What is "the snarl of the 'Literati'"? The truth about it is as follows: Poe contributed a series of papers, with this title, to *Godey's* in 1846. At a later time he formed a plan of gathering his critical writings on American authors into a book, and, as usual, he rewrote and rearranged the whole, using his old material. The work was advertised to appear in the spring of 1847, but it was never published. The manuscript of this work, with some parts missing, was found among the Griswold papers. The way in which Poe used it may be readily illustrated. The present writer has before him pp. 79, 80 of the MS. which contain a revised version of the paper on Laughton Osborn in the 'Literati.' Poe used a portion of this to make his introduction to his review of Lowell's "Fable for Critics" in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for March, 1849. The rest has never been printed. In the last-mentioned magazine for October, 1850, appeared "Poe on Headley and Channing," announced as "from advance sheets of 'The Literati,' a work in press by the late Edgar A. Poe." The existence of the work in question, then, namely, a revised 'Literati,' is clear; and from its pages Poe's later critical magazine writings were extracted. He was merely following his usual method when he sent the paper on Mrs. Osgood to the *Messenger* in 1849. From this same source, there can be no doubt Griswold obtained the half-dozen critical papers not previously published, as well as the four other "substituted" papers of the 'Literati,' and also the rearrangement of the papers on Hawthorne and other writers at which the Virginia editors are so indignant.

"Griswold," Professor Harrison says, "has taken the review of Hawthorne in *Godey's Lady's Book* for November, 1847, split it open, inserted another review of Hawthorne from *Graham's Magazine* for May, 1842, mutilated the latter, and then continued with the tail fragment of the 1847 review as colophon, thus dissecting Poe's later paper on the New England writer, and inserting scraps in fragments from one written five years earlier."

This was precisely Poe's way of treating his own work. Griswold would not have taken the trouble to do it. There is no ground to question for a moment that Griswold had manuscript authority for whatever he published differing from or in addition to Poe's printed texts. Even in the case of "The Raven" it must be held an open question whether his version or the Lorimer-Graham version, which he also owned, is of the higher authority. As to the 'Literati,' Griswold was in possession of a manuscript, more or less complete, in part a revision of old work, in part a first copy of MS. elsewhere used in other connections, and, in general, crossing Poe's published work in various ways. It is to be inferred that he used this manuscript, as was said above, for the final form for such papers as those on Hawthorne, and a revised form for the five 'Literati' papers, and the only source for a few pieces; and that he did not utilize it in cases where (as in Osborn's) it would have involved repetition of passages elsewhere appearing.

The truth is, that the editor's prejudice against Griswold has led him to reject Poe's own late and mature revision of his major critical writings in favor of these early, scattered, and fragmentary forms in which they appeared in the magazines in their original helter-skelter production. The same question, it should be observed, arose, though less importantly, in the "Tales." There the editor "straddled"; for example, Griswold's revision of "The Cask of Amontillado" is rejected, "as we have no positive evidence that these changes were made by Poe"; his "Hans Pfaall" and "Metzengerstein" are accepted, "as undoubtedly founded on a revised form of the text in the hands of the editor"; and his "Thousand and Second Tale" is also accepted, but without reason assigned. In conclusion, it must be held that Griswold's authority, so far from being impaired, is strengthened by the present attack on him, and that the edition itself suffers in just that proportion in which it departs from him in substance. In any discussion of the text of Poe the primary fact should never be lost sight of, namely, that Griswold had Poe's papers, as collected and prepared by Poe himself, who expected that he might die at any time and had taken care to ask Griswold to be his executor. Griswold's task was comparatively a light one; he had no motive to tamper with the text, and beyond the fact that he did not go much outside the collections he had received, and did not oversee the printing with great accuracy, there is no fault to be found with him.

We have left ourselves with short space for the remainder of the contents of the edition, *i. e.*, the Letters and the Biography. The idea of collecting the letters was an admirable one, for, taken together, they give, with all their triviality of subject and frequent meanness of spirit, the best personal impression of Poe. The collection is very complete, though a few have been missed, as, for example, the letter to Bryan, published April 16, 1892, in the *Critic*. The editor makes much of including the Griswold papers which were copied for him from the originals at Boston, or procured in other ways. We observe that he does not mention the publication of all the important letters to, from, or about Poe, in this collection, by Woodberry some years ago. The same lack of candor is even more noticeable in the fact that, while he has obtained several of the letters first collected in Woodberry's 'Life of Poe' from the original sources and owners, and has paraphrased such others in it as he could not so obtain, including those to Lowell, he does not mention that biography as the source. In his own biography of Poe there is very little that is new, and that little is discreditable to Poe. He revives the Richmond gossip about Poe's demanding money of a lady of the Allan family and smashing the windows of the house on being refused, and he is the first biographer to state the cause of Mr. Allan's rupture with Poe as being the latter's forgery of the former's name, though the fact has been strongly suspected. His authority is a niece of Mr. Allan, from whom he prints a letter. There is no attempt in the biography to conceal Poe's faults. Indeed, there has been no such collection of the evidence against Poe as is here gathered. The whole of the English episode, for example, is included, and the damaging letter of his friend Thompson—"no confidence could be placed in him in any relation of life"—with many others, revive nearly all the scandal connected with his name. It would hardly have been possible for any one except a professed Southern apologist of Poe to do this without offence; as it is, an unmeasured eulogy of Poe (these things excepted) makes the balance even.

A few incidental blemishes are to be regretted in this part of the work. The sneer at Longfellow's veracity might well have been omitted, and the attitude toward Lowell is an unpleasant one, while such things as the charge of lying brought against Briggs are, perhaps, though ground-

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less, to be expected, since the apologists of Poe have always shown an incapacity to appreciate the fact that the character of others beside Poe is at stake in their statements. Altogether, the biography is a very curious mixture of derogatory facts and laudatory remarks. The other critical apparatus of the edition is of very slight value.

On the whole, notwithstanding its shortcomings and errors, its minimizing, obscuring, and undervaluing the labors of others in the same field, and especially its wrong-headed attitude toward Griswold, for which it pays so heavy a penalty in lessening its own authority, the edition is to be heartily welcomed: it gathers together much obscure matter for the student of Poe, and collects in an accessible form much that has hitherto been scattered in many places, and it will range with other editions, not swallowing them up like Aaron's rod, but reposing amicably beside them on library shelves.

THE ELDER DUMAS.

Alexandre Dumas (père): His Life and Works. By Arthur F. Davidson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1902.

The Life and Writings of Alexandre Dumas. By Harry A. Spurr. Frederick A. Stokes. Co. 1902.

The Speronara. From the French of Alexandre Dumas. By Katharine Prescott Wormeley. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1902.

It was to be expected that the centenary of Dumas would be immediately attended with a fair crop of forced literary growths; both author and publisher find their accounts in the ready sale of the conventional "timely" volume. Miss Wormeley's tolerably fluent translation of Dumas's 'Le Speronare' merits a respectable place in the list of such books, and may be recommended to readers so unfortunate as to require the help of an English version in order to accompany that liveliest of travellers on his Sicilian tour. To look for the original buoyancy of style in the resultant transfer is to court disappointment.

The work of Mr. Spurr, while fulfilling the recognized requirements of an anniversary volume in the steady exaltation of its subject to a height which even the vanity of Dumas might have contemplated with misgiving, shows a far too obvious haste in compilation, and somewhat off-hand methods in accepting or rejecting biographical evidence. For instance, it is unprofitable (as Mr. Davidson says) to concern ourselves to-day as to whether the Marquis de la Pailleterie did or did not contract marriage with the woman from whom his descendants inherited their African quality of skin and hair; but opinion on one side or the other should certainly rest on stronger grounds than an assertion by M. Parigot in his insufficiently documented contribution to "Les Grand Écrivains Français." Mr. Spurr disposes in similar fashion of the difficult subject of Dumas's moral burdens in the matter of literary collaborations by summarily riding over the charge.

The volume that stands at the head of our list offers in every respect a striking contrast to its neighbors. If Dumas, during the period of his waning vogue and fortunes, had chosen to complete the 'Mémoires' of 1852-'54, which originally filled twenty volumes with the doings of only thirty years, Mr. Davidson would have been deprived of a rare opportunity and his English readers of an entertaining book. Fortunately also for both, no equally brilliant and rapid pen anticipated him; and we note that, notwithstanding his ample bibliography of French authorities, the present biographer passes by Fitzgerald's almost negligible attempt in discreet but significant silence. The spirit in which the task has been conducted appears in the grave irony of its first prefatory page. To any but the most literal reader, the suggestion that an adequate biographer of the swarthy giant of letters should combine in himself "the anecdotal facility of Suetonius or Saint-Simon with the loaded brevity of Tacitus and the judicial irony of Gibbon," clearly indicates the very pitfalls which the writer of this life has adroitly escaped. Nothing could be easier than to take too seriously an existence rich enough in fantastic episode or wayward adventure to rival D'Artagnan or Dantès. The Richardsonian moralist might look aghast on a private and professional record in some of its aspects as free from ethical nicety as Casanova's; though, unfortunately for the preacher, distinctly wanting in moral edification, seeing that there shone upon Dumas for fully thirty years the undimmed sun of popularity and success. All this part of a far from model career Mr. Davidson handles lightly, deftly, yet without waiving of deeper issues. He seems to understand better than many English critics the elastic adaptability of moral contexture in what might be called the temperamental outfit of the artist. Declining with equal judgment and taste to give in detail the voluminous *chronique scandaleuse* of private life, he enlivens his pages on this inevitable topic with truly un-Puritanical humor. In reply to a naïve comment by the "Comtesse Dash" on the unsatisfactory marriage of Dumas, he has a characteristic remark. To have been perfectly happy with such a man, says the "Comtesse," his wife should have had "tact enough to shut her eyes to his pranks, . . . she should have humored his love of mystery and intrigue, she should have been always on the point of discovering things and yet never have discovered them, and above all she should never have indulged in any scene of jealousy." Mr. Davidson has doubts as to the mortal possibility of such a paragon; and we may in our turn ask what Dumas ever did to justify the assumption that he might have been deservedly mated with a long-suffering angel (p. 207).

Dumas's methods of literary collaboration form another subject for sensible discrimination. The present volume devotes several pages (170-175, 244-256) to examination of the alleged facts, which undoubtedly show that in Dumas's mind the relations of debit and credit in a literary account might be handled in the liberal fashion of his lax financial bookkeeping. As to the real originality of his work and the slanderous malignity of envious De Mirecourts and others, we may well say of the fellow-members concerned in joint productions,

> " . . . vous leur fîtes, seigneur,
> En les croquant, beaucoup d'honneur."

Not one of the assistants showed more than mediocre creative talent when working independently. The referring of such questions to the law courts ends, as it recently did in our country, in making a laughing-stock of at least one of the litigants, and possibly of the judiciary as well.

The contrast between the two biographies is emphasized by noting their respective attitudes towards Dumas's efforts to reach the Academy, and their failure. Mr. Spurr, genuinely British in prejudice and expression, is incapable of seeing in that institution anything else than the "triumph of literary convention and snobbery" (p. 280). His competitor, with sounder knowledge and incomparably choicer language, says:

> "As we foreigners have often to be reminded—the French Academy is a club with somewhat strict conditions of membership, and to these Dumas hardly conformed. . . . Personal considerations weighed . . . against one who had no certain banking account, who was indiscreet in word and deed, and undignified in demeanor, one, in short, who—with his Mélanies and Idas too much in evidence and too much talked about—lacked that outward respectability which is the chief of all Academic qualifications" (pp. 212-213).

Mr. Davidson is, nevertheless, fully disposed to do justice to the delightful qualities that endeared Dumas to his multitudes of friends, whether worthy or unworthy; the testimony comes both from the gravest sources and the "imperfect, undistilled biography" of gossip. Could the great Alexandre fail to win friends when showing such amiable irresponsibility as is recorded in the following episode? During the street fighting of 1830, Dumas, under a sudden impulse, headed a bob-tailed mob making for the Hôtel de Ville, but found the way blocked by a mass of soldiers:

> "Prudence dictated a halt and a parley. As leader, Dumas stepped forward, and was met by a captain, from whom he requested permission for himself and his men to pass. In reply to the usual questions as to his destination and object, he declared that the one was the Hôtel de Ville, and the other to fight. The officer laughed outright. 'Really, M. Dumas, I didn't think you were quite as mad as all that.' If it was ruffling to be called *fou*, it was gratifying to find one's name known to the gallant captain, who explained that he had been to see 'Christine' one night when Dumas, who was in the house, had been pointed out to him as the author. 'That being so,' said Dumas, 'we can discuss this matter as friends.' 'Exactly what I am doing,' replied the officer, 'and as a friend I advise you to disband your men and get off quietly.' 'Well, I'll go back and talk to them about it. Many thanks for your kindness; good-bye, and, by the way, don't forget to come and see my next play; if you want tickets for the first night, send to me at 25 Rue de l'Université.'" (p. 117).

Dumas's literary achievement occupies its full share of space in this volume, though not much substantial weight is added to the vast bulk of critical literature on the subject; the author of 'La Tour de Nesle' and 'Monte Cristo' being one of the happy few whose permanency is settled by no body of critical doctrines ever yet devised. As Thackeray puts it in his first "Roundabout Paper": "Novels are sweets. All people with healthy literary appetites love them—almost all women; a vast number of clever, hard-headed men." In recognizing this, Mr. Davidson rarely drops his light-handed manner when treating of works whose vitality has never depended, can never depend, on the test of a serious critical analysis. It is surely futile, for instance, to debate gravely either the general ethical drift of "Antony," or the inferences to be drawn from the sensational wind-up of this play;

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its author's own description of it as a drama of passion relieves us from the duty of looking for a "thèse." The "halo of false martyrdom" which Mr. Davidson would have us see in the fate of Adèle is not implied in the play itself, whether read or acted in the spirit of true interpretation. But the share of attention given in this volume to Dumas's dramatic work is, in the eye of an English reader, excessive; for, with us, contemporary drama holds by no means the exalted position which it occupies in France; nor, save for their marvellous rapidity of movement and the strong dramatic coloring of many of their scenes, do the plays of Dumas *père* seem to warrant anything more than the highest order of melodramatic success. The same qualities set off by sprightliness of dialogue keep some of his comedies alive. The chapters entitled "The Great Novels" and "The Monte Cristo Epoch" are in the nature of synopses, rather than of critical studies, which, indeed, those famous books would hardly justify. As for the fragmentary "Isaac Laquedem," representing Dumas's efforts in the direction of philosophical romance on a large scale, candid examination compels the conviction that its suppression by the Censor was an arbitrary kindness to the author's reputation. Who can doubt that Dumas was here slyly endeavoring to outdo Eugène Sue and Balzac together by uniting their totally divergent methods in a single gigantic incongruity?

The point specially emphasized in Mr. Davidson's treatment of the novels concerns not so much the vivid light with which Dumas could surround historic scenes and characters, as the fundamentally sound impression of history and important relations in the past which are generally to be found in his works:

"What impression of the main characters and events of French history will these romances leave on a reader who knows French history only through them? Will such an one on the whole see right? Doubtless, yes. About the course of religious strife, of domestic intrigue, of foreign policy, he will gather little that 'serious history' will have him unlearn" (p. 222).

The same order of praise has often been bestowed with equal liberality on Dumas's acknowledged master in fiction. Should any writer of "serious history" feel constrained to dispute the claim of either, we may safely leave him to be dealt with by Mr. Davidson, whose undeniable capacity for brilliant biographical study has not been allowed to mislead his judicial sense.

THREE NOVELS.

Confessions of a Wife. By Mary Adams. The Century Co. 1902.

Doctor Bryson. By Frank H. Spearman. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1902.

Out of Gloucester. By James B. Connolly. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1902.

With Mr. Laurence Housman in mind, and reflecting that what man has done with profit, man may do, we will not venture to say that no man could have written the 'Confessions of a Wife.' There is a type of fiction, the purely emotional, which has been found to sell all the better for an air of verisimilitude. The absence of a name from the title-page was one of the best advertisements of the 'Englishwoman's Love-Letters,' and in the present case "Mary Adams" is confessedly a nom de plume. But there is no doubt whatever that the book was written for women, and those who agree with Professor Münsterberg will see in it a fresh confirmation of their fears for an American literature which bears the *cachet* of feminine taste and standards. At the time of Mr. Housman's *succès de mystère* we were assured by more than one American woman that the situation described in the 'Love-Letters' was typically British, or, at any rate, European; that, in fact, no high-spirited American would have furnished that spectacle of sentimental slavery to an unresponsive object. But Marna Herwin is of a constancy beside which the "Englishwoman" appears flippant. We confess, for our part, that, in reading the "Book of the Heart," as the heroine prefers to call her *diary, our sympathies were all on the side* of Dana Herwin. What patience could support the emotional *gaucherie* of a woman who addresses her husband as "Thou Strongest," and signs herself "Your Wilderness Girl in Chains," in notes that meet his eye in unexpected places at the rate of three a day? "Darling," begins a "Second Note," "will you mind two notes from me? I will slip this one under your pillow, so you will find it later than the pincushion one" (p. 94). The Marna type of woman does not profit by experience. On page 152 she writes: "Will you be patient with one of my constitutional notes? It is a good while since I have written you any, for I see that they sometimes annoy you in these days." She goes on to ask her husband what he means by underlining an allusion to a "wearing woman" in a book that she was reading. We are already some months from the day when she wrote: "Thou Glorious! . . . here alone in my rose-colored room, my soul turns to thee as if thou wert a god upon a cloud." We are told later that it was about this time that Dana Herwin began to take morphine.

There are passages in the 'Confessions' that almost incline one to the theory that the book was written as a savage study of the disastrous results of sentimentalism uncontrolled by a sense of humor. The sentiment is always overdone, but it touches caricature when Marna writes, "To Ina in Heaven," "You would have been my bridesmaid, . . . you would have worn a robin's-egg-blue silk mull." We pass over the lyrical treatment of a certain ruby ring called "Heart of the Wife," and content ourselves with a mere mention of what may be called the "ruby gown" *motif*. On page 7 Marna "loves to get into a ruby gown and write like this"; a little later we are told that "my ruby gown, especially the velvet part of it, seems to understand me," and, in fact, for three years the appearance of the ruby gown marks a sentimental crisis. The writer probably intends the reading public to sympathize with Marna, "whom nobody understands," but a woman whose exacting sentiment drives her husband to Montevideo and morphine deserves the consequences. Dana Herwin's return and the stages of his cure from the morphine habit are not badly described. He returns, a broken-spirited man, to a series of reconciliation scenes, and we are left with a characteristic view of his wife: "I got into my ruby gown—the dear old faded thing. I wrote the note and slipped it into his hand, and evaded him and left him to read it."

The hero of 'Doctor Bryson' is a Chicago oculist, and the heroine and all the minor characters are his patients. Two-thirds of the book is taken up with minute descriptions of operations and illness. Two children are introduced in order that one may die of malignant croup and the other go through "Tonnesco's operation" and diphtheria. The hero barely recovers from pneumonia, while the heroine, who to our infinite relief seemed about to escape with simple astigmatism, ends as a star case of hysterical amblyopia. Mr. Spearman is so preoccupied with the pathological that he cannot mention a typewriter, who is of no further consequence to the story, without telling us that she has "lips that breed hemorrhages." The tale itself is a mere thread on which to hang descriptions of up-to-date surgery. It is not Mr. Spearman's realism to which we take exception; in the description of the horrors of disease he is easily surpassed by D'Annunzio. But we forgive D'Annunzio for certain passages, when we do forgive him, because of the undeniable beauty and power of the rest. 'Dr. Bryson' is not a work of art, and it does not fulfil one of the chief functions of a work of fiction, which is, surely, to entertain. It is, however, written with a certain force and power of description, and the picture of boarding-house life in Chicago is dreary enough to be true to life.

'Out of Gloucester' is the rather awkward title of six short stories of the adventures of fishermen of Gloucester and their like. They are written with great spirit, and can be recommended to all who enjoy thrilling tales of sea life. All the stories but one illustrate the racing powers and seaworthiness of the Gloucester fishing-boats, and the daring (not to say foolhardiness) of their skippers in eluding British cutters and poaching within the three-mile limit. "A Fisherman of Costla" is laid in Galway Bay, with which the author is evidently familiar. He is wise in not attempting to reproduce the native dialect; but he should not make an Irishman speak of an outside car as a "jaunting-car," a word never heard from Irish lips; nor is an Irishman likely to call a train "the cars" (p. 118). But these are slight slips in a realistic description of an extremely risky sail in a "hooker" to the Arran Islands from Galway. Mr. Connolly's stories often remind us of 'Captains Courageous,' though he is less interested in the fishing trade of the Gloucester men than in their ability to handle their boats and race them under full sail, regardless of rough weather.

A Treatise on Title-Pages. With Numerous Illustrations in Facsimile, and Some Observations on the Early and Recent Printing of Books. By Theodore Low De Vinne, A.M. The Century Co. 1902. 12mo, pp. xx, 486.

This third volume in the series entitled "The Practice of Typography" is built upon a last-year publication of the Grolier Club. Now, withdrawn from that exclusiveness, the essay is offered to the public with a change in proportion. The practical part has been greatly enlarged for the benefit of all who pursue the typographic calling, but also to the immediate advantage of authors and for the general cultivation of taste respecting the art of book-making. The subject is limited in effect to title-

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pages set with type, and their evolution is traced from the printer's colophon at the end of the book (the place still occupied in English usage) to the present time. The French were the first to shift the printer's device from rear to front, and this practice was revived in 1840 by the English Pickering. The German Ratdolt, practising his craft in Venice, first employed engraved borders. Title-pages engraved on copper were indigenous in Italy, which contributed very little to displayed title-pages. Some time before 1840 Didot in Paris contrived the condensed type for title-pages, and to this day Mr. De Vinne finds the average French title-page more attractive than the British or American; the Germans are out of the count, because their Gothic capital letters are intractable.

In part ii. the modern title-page is considered in all its bearings, with some citations of rules and more suggestion of the true principles of composition, with a rich array of actual examples in facsimile, faced now and again by critical resettings—in one case by six. Part iii. is specially designated "Critical," and, among other things, reviews the Kelmscott typography in the light of Morris's avowed aim to produce books not only having "a definite claim to beauty," but "easy to read." Mr. De Vinne cannot think this end to have been attained. He points out some of the difficulties which Morris encountered from his own fonts, and gives unqualified praise only to the presswork, which no fifteenth-century printer surpassed.

All this is illuminating without being dogmatic. We particularly call attention to what is said *passim* about the legibility of masses of lines set in capitals, and about amateur invention of letters in the name of decoration. It should be taken to heart by publishers of magazines who offend every canon of typographic taste by printing poems, not only smothered in futile ornament, pictorial or arabesque, but made absolutely unreadable by being lettered by hand. It passes our understanding how the poets themselves can tolerate such treatment—above all, as often happens, on a first appearance. With most of Mr. De Vinne's likes and dislikes we find ourselves in accord. He always has in mind the parallelogram which conditions the printer's liberties with symmetry; he is radically sound as regards spacing, and emphasis, and the mixture of fonts. His own compositions are irreproachable. Sometimes we could wish for a little more color, and we rather sympathize with the French habit of securing this, even when the stress has to fall on the less significant word. Nor do we feel averse to dashes, at least to the same extent as our author. In objecting *in toto* to the use of the ampersand, he appears to us to overlook its possible decorative function; and we answer his inquiry why should we suffer it in a title-page when we exclude it from the text, by alleging the exigency of space and balance, which is no concern of the ordinary letter-press. The ruled border, again, we have a soft side for, but with reserves: if Fitz-Gerald had in mind those which passed muster with his publisher, we cannot wonder that he invited Wright to "spew at Quaritch's ornamentation." The book closes with ten instructive variations on one theme by Mr. Jacobi of the Chiswick Press. The sixth, seventh, and eighth of these suggest an escape from the weakness too often shown in the regulation three-line publisher's imprint.

We commend once more the present volume, and the series, to all who take an interest in the history and the high maintenance of Gutenberg's gift to mankind. They are a mine of curious information and illustration.

Dante and the Animal Kingdom. By Richard Thayer Holbrook. Macmillan (Columbia University Press).

The diversity of Dante's admirers furnishes perennial proof of the great Florentine's many-sidedness. A new illustration of this comprehensive charm appears in the above volume. Here we find an author who has nothing but contempt for mediæval science, who misses no opportunity to sneer at dogmatic theology, who repeatedly confesses a lack of interest in the essential features of the "Paradiso," who shows (in this work at least) no sympathy with allegory, but is nevertheless so fascinated by external beauties, the by-play of Dante's genius, that he is willing to devote himself, with "lungo studio" and presumably with "grande amore," to the production of a new Dante book. Let it be said at once that the book is an excellent one: as a collection of valuable material it will long be indispensable to the specialist, and as reading for the general public it ought to prove entertaining even to those entirely unacquainted with the 'Commedia.'

The author's "Animal Kingdom" includes not only man and the lower beasts, but also the devils and the angels. While these latter creatures cannot, by any extension, be called animals, they are in some ways so closely connected with the subject proper that the omission of them would have left a distinct gap. Dr. Holbrook's great merit is to have set clearly before us the mediæval attitude toward animals, and to have interpreted all the references that Dante makes to beasts in the light of the strange folk-lore that had gathered about them. He finds Dante more conventional, in his use of animal traits, than has generally been supposed; in many cases, however, he concedes to his poet direct personal observation. Even when imitating, Alighieri generally contrives to stamp the copy with his own mark. "Dante," says our author, "has known how to give to a mere literary reminiscence an energy that few writers can impart from the observation of real life." As far as we can ascertain his own preferences, the Florentine, according to Dr. Holbrook, would seem to have been indifferent to horses, to have disliked dogs, hated wolves, despised sheep, and admired falcons, which he described with great accuracy. Dr. Holbrook also excels in his chapter on "Falconry," where he succeeds in illuminating the episode of Alichino and Calcabrina.

In his endeavor to say something about every animal mentioned by Dante, the author occasionally (as in the chapter on the goat) fills in with irrelevant matter, or (as in the treatment of the ass) indulges in somewhat fantastic speculation. In general, however, the work is very substantial; and while no important contribution is made to the solution of any of the great problems, a clear and constant light is shed upon all of Dante's beast-shapes, making them appear in their true mediæval aspect. There are eighteen well-chosen illustrations, nearly all belonging to the Middle Ages; the three colored plates are decidedly attractive, but the most interesting, perhaps, are the "Christ of Salerno," the "Three-Headed Satan," and the "Generation of Vipers."

The chief defect of the book (in the eyes of a reader perhaps unduly serious) is its unsympathetic levity of tone. One is constantly jarred, and either amused or pained, by such flippant passages as these: "In thirteen hundred years the world above him has made some changes in divinities and demons, and Charon, son of Erebus, feels that he must obey the new régime. . . . After thirteen hundred years, Minos has grown a tail." A few small inaccuracies and omissions may be noted. On page 24 we read: "It is interesting to learn from what Dante says later [in 'De Vulgari Eloquentia'] that the serpent must have spoken Hebrew." But Dante corrects the statement in question in the "Paradiso," xxvi, 124. From the description on page 55 one would infer that the Minotaur was in immediate proximity to the Centaurs, instead of being separated from them by a mighty precipice. The "acqua" outside the City of Dis is called on page 211 a "marsh *of heretics*." On page 242 the tale of Aucassin is assigned without comment to the twelfth century. In several places one misses a reference to the 'Magnæ Derivationes' of Uguccione da Pisa, recently discussed by Paget Toynbee. In the note on Ciacco (pp. 177-8) might have been inserted the title of Scherillo's article in the *Nuova Antologia* (xciv, p. 427). The story of the whale mistaken for an island (p. 204) occurs in the first voyage of Sindbad the Sailor; it may be worth while to state that the same yarn is contained in the Provençal bestiary published by Appel in his 'Chrestomathie' (p. 204). Good evidence of the existence of fish-ponds in the gardens of rich Italians (p. 217) is to be found in the sixth story of the tenth day of the 'Decameron.' In connection with Bernart's poem, "Quant vei la lauzeta mover," reference might have been made to Smith's 'Troubadours at Home' (II., p. 162), where we find an English translation and the original music of this beautiful song.

The "Times" History of the War in South Africa. Vol. II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1902.

The second of the six handsome volumes which are to constitute this history is, like its predecessor, illustrated with excellent maps, and with fine photogravure portraits of notable persons on both sides of the contest. The series is edited by L. S. Amery, fellow of All Souls, while the narrative is written by several members of the *Times* staff of war correspondents.

The most distinctive feature of the present volume, aside from its use of much important material made especially available since the close of hostilities, is its searching criticism of the organization of the British army at the outbreak of the war, and of the conditions, both among responsible officials and in public opinion, which prepared the way for the deep humiliation of the British nation which attended most of the activities in the field, down, at least,

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to the period at the end of 1899 when Roberts superseded Buller upon the heels of the disaster at Colenso. In many respects this criticism is profitable to the American patriot, as offering a parallel to the attitude of our political managers towards a scientific preparation for war in time of peace. Witness our mortification at the beginning of the war with Spain, when the only evidence our nation was able to present of its readiness for the belligerency into which the Jingoes precipitated us, was the resourceful body of regular troops who had been so long accustomed to fight under adverse conditions that no neglect of civil functionaries could prevent them from carrying off the only laurels won in our land operations.

The editor of this history recognizes that the British army had made a long stride towards reform of its ancient deficiencies when, after 1875, purchase of commissions was displaced by competitive examination, a bureau of military intelligence was established, and field manœuvres were systematically undertaken. But there improvement practically ended. The Staff Intelligence Department was limited to an entirely insufficient number of officers, with an annual appropriation for its maintenance of about £11,000 as contrasted with some £270,000 a year devoted by the German Empire. Little encouragement was given to officers to widen their professional knowledge and to fit themselves for emergencies. Most of their time was thrown away upon foolish ceremonies, petty accounting, and like routine bookkeeping.

The periods of service of the rank and file were so ill-suited to the taste and peculiarities of the British people, that the standard of recruiting had to be several times lowered to meet the impossibility of securing first-class material, and the ranks became a nursery for "lower-class wastrels." Under fairly good treatment, this inferior stuff was converted into a pretty well-disciplined force for show or for the old-time methods of attack in close column. But there was scarcely any drill in marksmanship, no spirit of personal initiative in critical moments, and so intimate a dependence upon the leadership of the officers that when these failed (and for the new warfare they were almost as ignorant as their men), the regiments were as flocks without a shepherd assailed by wolves. "Many of the generals were nothing more than aged regimental officers, with brains and will power atrophied by a long life spent in unmilitary routine; incapable alike of devising a plan or carrying it into execution."

On the other hand, the apparent disgrace of a necessity of putting into the field more than 200,000 British troops to bring to terms less than 60,000 Boers is reduced when it is considered that the latter were in truth trained warriors, habituated to all manner of self-reliance and courage by constant battle, not alone with wild men armed with bows and spears, but with organized natives equipped with modern firearms and often proving themselves a formidable adversary for any fighting troop of white soldiers. In short, the Boers were amply prepared for the sort of warfare which they were required to wage, with the added vigor always given to defenders of their own firesides; while the British carried to strange, unwonted situations the traditions of European highways and fortified towns, or of warfare with Asiatics whose prowess they not illegitimately held in contempt. Happily for their final fortune, the school of calamity was for the British an effective instructor.

The unmilitary student of such volumes as these may draw from their discussions the lesson, which Americans ought to have learned from dear-bought experience, that a democratic government, whether in England or the United States, is, of all political systems under the sun, the least suited to wage warfare, if economy and prompt efficiency are to be taken into reckoning.

Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic. By Charles Oman, M. A. With portraits and illustrations. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1902.

Midway between history and biography, Professor Oman has written one of the most readable books which have recently appeared on the subject of the later Roman Republic. Whether one can always agree with his estimates of the statesmen concerned or not, those estimates are definitely conceived and clearly presented. As a sample of his effective characterization, Tiberius Gracchus is described as having "enough brains to see that the times were out of joint, enough heart to feel for the misfortunes of his countrymen, enough conscience to refuse to leave things alone and take the easy path to success that lay before him, and enough self-confidence to think that he was foreordained to set all to rights." But he failed as a leader because of his emotional temperament, his impatience of opposition, and his utter inability to appreciate an opponent's point of view as well as his own. After all the honors which have fallen to the lot of Cornelia down through the centuries, it makes one gasp to hear her son described as "cursed with a mother who was always reminding him that he was the grandson of Scipio the elder." The various schemes for agrarian reform were doomed to failure, Professor Oman thinks, because the statesmen of the time were not sufficiently trained to see where the roots of economic distress really lay. After the Gracchi, are considered in turn Sulla, Crassus, Cato, Pompey, and Cæsar, and along with their personal fortunes one gets a fairly connected sketch of the development of Roman politics for the period covered. Joined with the gross personal vices of Sulla our author finds enough of the old Roman political virtues to bracket him with Cato as unselfish in aim, looking for no personal profit, and devoting his life to his party and his theory of the Constitution. His reformed Constitution failed in the end for lack of motive power, not from flaws in the mechanism. The clock could not go on ticking without the repairer's hand to give the pendulum an occasional push. Cato is energetically defended against Mommsen's ridicule. (Who does not dare an occasional hostile sally into Mommsen's territory now?) Cato was "a thoroughly successful minister of finance, and an excellent and practical soldier." But for the way in which he was foiled by mean and petty spirits, his efforts at reform might have had large and permanent results to their credit. Cæsar is lashed severely for his "Anti-Cato," a rather discreditable post-mortem revenge upon "the one man whom he could not bend" while living.

Mommsen's idealized Cæsar of course comes in for radical rectification. Pompey is held up as his superior, both directly and by implication, in many qualities of personal character which are rightly sought in a really great nature. The level of Pompey's life was above Cæsar's debauchery, above his cruelty, though he failed in the great crisis because he could not read the signs of the times, and did not quite know what it was that he was blindly groping after. Cæsar was a brilliant opportunist, cruel or clement as his policy might demand, dealing sanely and practically with problems as they arose, but without a single trace of real unselfishness or idealism. "Cæsar the altruist is a fiction of the nineteenth century." The Dictator of B. C. 45 "was but the debauched young demagogue of B. C. 70, grown older, riper, and more wary." Even at the age of fifty-four he was "ready to lapse into undignified amours with a clever and worthless little Egyptian princess." Here again one gasps. Surely the dignity of Horace's great ode, "Nunc est bibendum," is more in accord with the real significance of Cleopatra than this flippancy.

Professor Oman regards the Empire as the inevitable outcome of the Republic as it existed during its last century, but not at all an ideal solution of the problems which the decaying Republic had set. Cæsarism conferred countless practical benefits, especially in improving the hard lot of the provincials, but its gifts were purely material. To an age of lost ideals its founder could give no new moral impulse, for he had himself lived down, or had never possessed, any controlling enthusiasm save personal ambition. The Stoic philosophy was the only moral force in existence, and it influenced only the few choice spirits, not the mass. Even a vigorous national patriotism was impossible, despite the efforts to stimulate its growth. The conclusion of it all is that, but for the attacks from without and the new influence of Christian ideals within—both forces for which Cæsarism did not provide—the Empire must gradually have sunk into some such stagnant civilization as that of the Chinese.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, E. H. Religious Life in America: A Record of Personal Observation. The Outlook Co. $1.

Anti-Slavery Papers of James Russell Lowell. 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Blashfield, E. H., and Blashfield, E. W. Italian Cities. 2 volumes. New edition. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Cervantes, Miguel. The Adventures of Don Quixote of La Mancha. London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.50.

Cesaresco, Evelyn M. Lombard Studies. Scribners. $3.50.

Collie, J. N. Climbing on the Himalaya and Other Mountain Ranges. Edinburgh: David Douglas; New York: Scribners. $5.

Creighton, Mandell. Historical Essays and Reviews. (Edited by Louise Creighton.) Longmans, Green & Co. $2.

Davidson, A. B. The Called of God. (Edited by J. A. Paterson.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners. $2.

Day, L. F. Windows: A Book about Stained and Painted Glass. London: B. T. Batsford; New York: Scribners. $10.50.

Dobson, Austin. William Hogarth. With an Introduction on Hogarth's Workmanship by Sir Walter Armstrong. London: William Heinemann; New York: McClure, Phillips & Co.

Earle, Alice M. Sundials and Roses of Yesterday. Macmillan. $2.50.

Janvier, T. A. The Christmas Kalends of Provence, and Some Other Provence Festivals. Harper & Bros.

Jiriczek, O. L. Northern Hero Legends. (Temple Primers.) London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 40c.

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Johnson, Rossiter. Morning Lights and Evening Shadows. The Marion Press.
Kropotkin, P. Mutual Aid a Factor of Evolution. McClure, Phillips & Co.
Le Gallienne, Richard. An Old Country House. Harpers. $2.40.
Letters of Daniel Webster. Edited by C. H. Van Tyne. McClure, Phillips & Co.
Letters of Dorothea, Princess Lieven, during her Residence in London, 1812-1834. Edited by L. G. Robinson. Longmans, Green & Co. $5.
MacColl, D. S. Nineteenth Century Art: With a Chapter on Early Art Objects by Sir T. D. Gibson-Carmichael. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons; New York: Macmillan. $16.
Marriott, Charles. Love with Honour. John Lane.
Morse, Frances C. Furniture of the Olden Time. Macmillan.
Pancoast, Henry S. Standard English Prose. Henry Holt & Co.
Paton, James. Scottish History and Life. Glasgow: James MacLehose; New York: The Macmillan Co. $14.
Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart. Avery. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Pitman, Benn. Life and Letters of Sir Isaac Pitman. Cincinnati: Phonographic Institute. $1.00.
Podmore, Frank. Modern Spiritualism: A History and a Criticism. 2 vols. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: Scribners. $5.
Pollard, A. F. Henry VIII. London and Paris: Goupil & Co.; New York: Scribners. $25.00.
Prettyman, C. W. Der Dreissigjährige Krieg. Drittes Buch. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Remington, Frederic. John Ermine of the Yellowstone. The Macmillan Co.
Rennie, Elizabeth W. A Fiery Sword. The Abbey Press. $1.50.
Savage, Rev. Minot J. Men and Women. Boston: American Unitarian Association.
Schierbrand, Wolf von. Germany. Doubleday, Page & Co. $2.40.
Schmidt, Alexander. Shakespeare-Lexicon: A Complete Dictionary of all the English Words, Phrases, and Constructions in the Works of the Poet. New ed. 2 vols. Berlin: George Reimer; New York: G. E. Stechert; also, Lemcke & Buechner. $8.
Scott, Sir Walter. Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. Edited by T. F. Henderson. 4 vols. London: William Blackwood & Sons; New York: Scribners.
Sing a Song of Sixpence: Another Lost Legend. With 8 illustrations by Edward Lear. Boston: George H. Ellis & Co.
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